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EDITORIAL

SHORTLY after the first number of the *British Journal of Delinquency* appeared in July 1950 we received several letters from correspondents, the burden of which was that we should call a spade a spade and use the term "criminology" rather than "delinquency." In any case, they maintained, "delinquency" had come to connote juvenile offences, and our application of this term to the whole field of anti-social behaviour was misleading. To this we replied (in the Editorial of the second number, dated October 1950) that the words "crime" and "criminology" were emotionally loaded and that we wished to encourage the use of a term having fewer moralistic implications and provoking less moralistic reaction. Granting the current "juvenile" connotations of "delinquency," we maintained that just for this very reason it was desirable to employ the term, and thereby to stress the developmental aspects of "crime."

Throughout the subsequent ten years this question has been reconsidered from time to time, and we have finally been compelled to concede that as the term "criminology" has now acquired a much broader connotation and no longer implies mainly the processes of "police science," there is no longer any overriding objection to a change in our name. Indeed, we took some comfort from the fact that ours was not the only mental science to find itself in this dilemma. The term "psychiatry," originally associated in this country with the study of insanity, has come to connote abnormal psychology and has swept from the board the more illuminating caption, "clinical psychology."

In short, somewhat reluctantly and after considerable searching of heart, we have decided to commence the present series under the title *The British Journal of Criminology*.

It may, however, be of some interest to our readers to know that, when a poll was taken of the opinions of our Advisory Board and of our collaborators in various countries, the majority in favour of "criminology" was a narrow one, for the main reason that many correspondents also felt it desirable to avoid the judicial and administrative implications of the term. A more cogent argument was that the scope of the *Journal* extended beyond the frontiers of "crime" to include studies of family and social life bearing on the condition of "pre-delinquency." Being more than a little sympathetic to this argument, we decided on a sub-title which would not only preserve some of our original preference for the term "delinquency" but indicate that criminology must be based on the broadest studies of the individual and social determinants of character and conscience. For this reason we have included the phrase "deviant social behaviour." The term may arouse misgivings in those who regard some tendency to deviation from alleged norms as a sign of creativeness, a social catalyst rather than a source of disruption. To be sure, in the wide spectrum of human conduct, from the hypothetical normal to the criminal anti-social, lies a number of attitudes and traits which close psychological scrutiny reveals as harbingers of "good" as well as of "bad" (in the social sense). Nevertheless, we must concentrate our attention on these larval forms of asocial behaviour which, as prediction studies are now making clear, constitute forerunners of aberrant conduct. In short, a journal of criminology must pursue those wider studies which not only include the full range of deviations, benign as well as malignant, but open up those cultural differences of time, place and race which are responsible for variations in the structure of crime. When that stage is reached, our present over-comprehensive and at the same time narrow nosological terms will give place to a more accurate and precise terminology of character and social grading. But it would seem that the time is not yet ripe for that change, and so we must make shift to speak the language current amongst so many workers in the field.

In the meantime we can look back not without some pride on the achievements of the past ten years. When we started the *British Journal of Delinquency* we were under no illusion that a large volume of illuminating research in criminology existed, but we hoped that the appearance of the *Journal* would provide at the same time a stimulus for multi-disciplined research and a platform for discussion of its results. To some extent that ambition has been realised, but there is still an open field for imaginative and disciplined work of all kinds.

It is therefore desirable to reassure our readers that no change in scientific policy is foreshadowed by the change in title. We hope perhaps to speak to a wider audience, but the gist of our policy remains as before; namely, to promote research into the diagnosis, etiology, treatment and prevention of crime, drawing our information from any field of scientific inquiry that touches, however remotely, on these subjects.

In the summer of 1954, commenting on the activities of the Departmental Committee on the law relating to homosexual offences and prostitution, we maintained that these root problems, which lie so close to the foundations of human society, should be reconsidered and dealt with in a manner consonant with their gravity; that is to say, with dispassionate understanding and compassionate laws. But, we were careful to add, although we might look forward in a fairly sanguine mood to the deliberations of the Home Office Committee, we must restrain any undue optimism regarding extensive changes in the laws governing sexual offences that might result from these deliberations.

Four years later, when the Government decided to do no more than "take notice" of the Committee's recommendations, we went on to remark that the one indisputable conclusion to be drawn from the Parliamentary debate was that, despite the modern tendency to temper punishment with measures of amelioration, the attitude to homosexuality of our present Elizabethan legislators was in some respects more obscurantist than that of our mid-Victorian forebears. "All in all," we added, "we must recognise that three years of hopeful labour have ended in a penal anti-climax."

As we go to press, the result of the House of Commons debate on a Motion by Mr. Kenneth Robinson—namely, that some action should be taken on Part 2 of the Wolfenden Report—comes to hand. Mr. Robinson's Motion was in fact voted down. Of 630 Members of Parliament, 312 took part in the division, 99 being in favour of the Motion and 213 against; from which it may be concluded, first, that in so far as this Parliamentary "Gallup Poll" is concerned—for that is after all the status of the vote—a majority of Members of Parliament either "don't know" or "don't want to know" or "don't want to commit themselves," and, second, that a little more than two-thirds of the remainder have preserved an attitude adverse to change of the existing laws. And so we may assume that for the next ten years, at any rate, the present abuses of individual privacy and liberty, together with the unconscionable and fantastically inappropriate penal sanctions applied to homosexual acts performed in private by consenting adults will remain unreformed.

What Members of Parliament or, indeed, the general public may not realise is that by this action the House of Commons has contributed importantly to the data of homosexual research. There was indeed a good deal of face-saving reference during the debate to the necessity for research; face-saving because clearly the Wolfenden Committee, although also favouring research, was sufficiently satisfied with existing data to form an almost unanimous conclusion. Commenting on the earlier debate of 1958, we remarked that the Home Secretary's promise of research, though laudable enough in itself, seemed to have operated as a placebo to still the consciences of those who were left with the uneasy feeling that the manifest homosexual is treated as a scapegoat for the homosexual components that exist unnoticed in the community at large. And this judgment still stands. Indeed, the need for research is never so obvious as when a popularly elected assembly engages and becomes entangled in the discussion of sexual mores. No research on homosexuality is worthy of the name that confines itself to the investigation of manifestly homosexual subjects and sets out with the assumption that, even if the practice is not a crime, it is nevertheless, as *The Times* maintains, "unnatural, sinful, and to be resisted wherever possible." Social and moral prejudices of this sort are the hallmark

of a timid society, and when a timid society promotes research it is not likely that it will discover more than its own bias. If homosexuality should indeed be a disorder, it is well matched by the pathological sexual intolerance of society.

But the matter of social research into the roots of homosexuality does not end here. Important as it is to investigate the sexual intolerance of otherwise reasonable and well-meaning persons, particularly if, as in the present instance, they are in a position to promote or to obstruct enlightened legislation, it is even more important to realise that the problem of manifest homosexuality represents but one manifestation of forces on which the stability of society itself depends. When effectively sublimated the normal homosexual drives of mankind contribute at least as much to the social cohesion of groups as the love forces that are derived from heterosexual instincts. To be sure "unconscious" homosexuality is also responsible for many of the frictions that disturb both personal and social relations. Be that as it may, the isolation of factors which promote social cohesion and of factors which tend to promote disintegration and a social conduct, to say nothing of war-readiness, calls for searching investigations unhampered by emotional and moralistic bias.

At the start of our association with Stevens & Sons under our new guise as *The British Journal of Criminology* it is perhaps appropriate to mention some of the articles and notes which we hope to offer readers in forthcoming issues.

Two major series of articles are in course of preparation: *Modern Prison Architecture* and *Facts and Problems of Remand Homes*. Further articles will include:

Marcus. A Dimensional Study of a Prison Population.

Lunden. The Theory of Crime Prevention.

Fisher. Varieties of Juvenile Delinquency.

Schafer. The Hungarian Penal System.

Raeburn-Brisby-Scott. Assessing the Offender for the Courts.

Voelcker. Juvenile Courts: the Parents' Point of View.

Winnik and Horovitz. The Problem of Infanticide.

Wolfgang and Ferracuti. Recent Trends in Italian Criminology.

“STATE OF MIND” REPORTS*

THE INADEQUATE PERSONALITY

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THE “State of Mind” population refers to those prisoners remanded under section 26 of the Magistrates’ Courts Act, 1952, and section 4 of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, the nature of whose offences or whose demeanour in court has led the magistrates to consider it desirable that they receive a report from the prison authorities upon the state of mind of the prisoner concerned. The bulk of the work at Brixton Prison Hospital consists of rendering reports to courts under these sections.

The content of this paper represents my personal voyage of discovery into the sort of prisoner who comes within these terms of reference. The paper is in two parts; the first comprises a sketch of the general problem and the second gives a more detailed examination of a particular aspect of it.

First, let me give you some idea of the scope of the numbers involved in report to court work at Brixton. The figures related to 1957. I see that there has been an increase of approximately 12 per cent. in 1958, but I have not had the opportunity to analyse these figures yet, so I am presenting those of the previous year. In 1957, Brixton rendered 1,611 reports. This represented 37 per cent. of the national total of reports made on male prisoners, which amounted in all to 4,354. In addition there were 1,113 reports made on women. Reporting to court thus represents a heavy commitment on the part of the Prison Commissioners.

On examining Brixton figures one is immediately struck by the high proportion of previously convicted prisoners amongst them.

* This paper was read to the 1959 Conference of Medical Officers and Psychologists in the Prison Service. I am grateful for the permission of H.M. Prison Commissioners to publish this paper. It does not necessarily represent their views.

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These amount to 65 per cent. of the total; 44 per cent. of the total had previously been in prison and 32 per cent. of the sample currently examined were subsequently sent to prison. It is apparent therefore that we are dealing with a highly recidivistic population. It is worth thinking a little about the implications of this for the prison system. If we work out the entry rate of convicted prisoners on whom state of mind reports have been rendered we find that in 1957 they represented about 6 per cent. of the daily average population. Moreover, one-third of those convicted received sentences of two years or more, which is in accordance with our expectations for a population with a high recidivist content of this order. There seems, therefore, to be in the prisons a high accumulation of prisoners drawn from a category which at the time of trial was sufficiently odd, disturbed or peculiar for the courts to feel that some inquiry into their state of mind was necessary.

It would be interesting to speculate on what sort of special training problems these men offer and how their needs might differ from the so-called "normal" segment of the prison population. However, leaving this to one side for the moment, let me proceed to break down the picture and to give you some of the characteristics of this population in broad general terms.

First of all: are we dealing with a class of dangerous criminals? The answer, with a few startling exceptions, is "No." Nearly half the offences recorded are against property and most of these are of a petty theft kind. Nearly one-third of the total offences are what one might call minor social crimes, namely: wandering, begging, drunkenness and loitering. There are, however, rather more sexual offences—between twice and three times as many as one would expect from general prison figures; indecent exposure and indecent assault account for rather more than half of these. Figures for offences of violence are approximately the same as in the general population. Apart from the capital cases and those few of grave assault of a peculiar kind which come within the report to court frame of reference, the picture is then one of petty minor offences often inefficiently carried out.

We can next turn to the physical characteristics of the sample. The age distribution is approximately the same as that for the general

prison population with perhaps a slight bias to the older end of the scale. The distribution of intelligence shows the same sort of trend towards below average as does the general prison population. This is perhaps slightly accentuated because of the loading of mentally defective or near defective people who come into the scope of the "state of mind" category.

Nearly three-quarters of the population are of sufficiently robust physical health to warrant no remarks on their medical sheet. Only 4 per cent. suffered from some major physical disability. There is no way of telling how this compares with the general prison population but at least we are reasonably sure that we are not dealing with a grossly physically defective group.

If, however, we turn to the social side of the group we come upon a scene of unparalleled disaster; in fact, if we adopt the criteria of competence in work, satisfactory marital status and having a fixed address prior to arrest, only 5 per cent. of the sample score well. The other 95 per cent. indicate failure in one or more of these areas and the majority fail in all of them. In fact, of course, all social studies of prison populations indicate a high proportion of such failures, but I am left with the impression that the quality of social failure here is more complete and more chronic. Take, for instance, the two criteria of marital status and services career. Nearly two-thirds of this sample are unmarried. This is abnormally high when you consider that the average age range is slightly biased towards the under-forties. Of the one-third that are married, just over a quarter of them live with their wives. The remaining three-quarters are divorced or separated. I can give you some comparable figures collected from the Wakefield Prison population survey carried out by Dr. Roper in 1948 and with which you are no doubt familiar.¹ There he finds the proportion of married to single almost the reverse of our sample. Only one-third were unmarried and two-thirds were married. Of the married, two-thirds of those stayed with their partners although disharmony existed amongst nearly half of them. In the Wakefield group at least, the men were sufficiently going concerns to face the adventures of marriage and although the

¹ Roper, W. F., "A Comparative Study of the Wakefield Population, 1948," *Brit. J. Delinq.*, 1, No. 1, 1950; 1, No. 4, 1951.

casualty rate was high, it was nothing like so disastrous as amongst the "state of mind" population of whom you will remember only a quarter of those who were married were still living with their wives.

Much the same proportion of failure is found with reference to service careers. Two-thirds of the "state of mind" population have no services career. Of the one-third which served, only just over a quarter completed their service and the remaining three-quarters were discharged for various reasons prior to its completion. These figures should be seen in the context of the physical state of the group remarked upon earlier, namely, one that is more or less free from gross physical defects. Again, comparison with the Wakefield sample indicates that there only 57 per cent. failed in their services career.

I will not weary you with other comparisons. You will clearly see that the picture is one of social failure which is more complete and more chronic than is met with in other areas of prison work.

Now to complete this brief sketch we come to the last dimension which I wish to discuss, namely, the psychiatric state of the men concerned. In rather over half of those referred for state of mind report, *i.e.*, in 53 per cent., a psychiatric diagnosis was made and the diagnostic label attached. For the remainder no such diagnosis was forthcoming and such terms as social problem, immature and inadequate personality were freely used. The implications flowing from this division are far reaching; slightly over half the sample had a diagnostic label, which means that some form of treatment was potentially available, although it is recognised that the treatment might not be followed or might be ineffective. For the other half, however, no recognised treatment exists, although the tenor of the reports in the majority of cases indicates that some form of disorder, be it social or psychological, was certainly present. The omnibus diagnostic term "inadequate personality" and its various synonyms thus covers a large area and perhaps a multitude of conditions. There would seem therefore to be an excellent case for examining what this term might mean to those who use it and attempting to discover what implications it has for prison practice. This is especially so since in many cases the "state of mind" report fails to make a specific recommendation on the disposal of those so

labelled and it is overwhelmingly from this category that those who receive a prison sentence come. In parenthesis here it is perhaps of interest to mention that in 92 per cent. of the cases in which special action was suggested in the "state of mind" report the courts appeared to follow that recommendation. In roughly half of the total sample, however, no special recommendation is made and it is from this segment that the bulk of prison sentences come.

This brings me to the second and major part of the paper, namely, a consideration of the definition and implications of the diagnostic label "Inadequate Personality."

You will find the problem of the so-called inadequate personality cropping up within the prison system in a variety of other ways. For instance, in the Wakefield survey Dr. Roper states that approximately half the sample would be labelled "inadequate." The annual report of the Prison Commissioners for 1956 mentions the same problem amongst Preventive Detainees. The work of Mr. Taylor, Senior Psychologist at Wandsworth, on P.D.s and also my own short survey of the Borstal population indicate the extensive existence of the inadequate personality category and in the latter case suggests that it is from amongst them that the major proportion of the recidivists come. The problem is not therefore confined to the "state of mind" population but spreads through the whole of the prison intake.

In what follows, I want to describe the first step in the process of clarifying the concept of inadequate personality. From the outset I want to emphasise that we are not concerned with inadequacy used in an adjectival way; we *are* concerned with an entity which people can apparently recognise and label the "inadequate personality." That is to say, we are searching for a cluster of qualities which occur in a definite formation and which together make up a whole which can be differentiated from other wholes and in turn can receive a diagnostic label.

From the beginning it seemed to me that the definition we seek to clarify might be suffering from the same difficulties as those that beset the definition of psychopath and that many people might be proceeding on the basis of: "I know one when I see it but I cannot

tell you what it is." Accordingly, I sent a letter to several of my psychologist colleagues and also to several medical officers and psychiatrists both inside and outside the prison service. In the letter I pointed out that the term "inadequate personality" was in general use as an operational concept, and I went on to ask them if they could define it for me. I asked them if they would define it at the behavioural level, at the psychodynamic level, and by marks which distinguish it from neurotic, psychopathic and normal. I also asked them to add any general remarks which might occur to them about the use of the term. I am very pleased to say that everyone answered and some did so at great length. Indeed, in one case I received nine pages. The topic thus seems to have aroused considerable interest. I am, of course, deeply indebted to all those people who have taken so much trouble. I will now go on to present the ideas that came out of the replies.

To begin with, the majority opened with remarks to the effect that they did not like the term and that the category as such did not exist. It was said that it represented a moral judgment and not a diagnosis. All, however, then went on to say that they knew it to be in frequent use and with some shame admitted that they themselves often resorted to it.

The first part of the definition, at the behavioural level, proved to be fairly easy and, indeed, the social indices of marriage, service career and type of crime that I have mentioned in the opening paragraphs of this paper emerged very quickly in all the answers. It seems generally agreed that the prefix "inadequate" applies to inadequacy of achievement in social norms of conduct. Here and there an observer raised a note of warning about the dangers of applying middle-class norms of adequacy to a population drawn from other social spheres. I think this is a legitimate warning, but there is every indication that inadequacy implies a failure in some set of norms, be they those of a gypsy or of a stockbroker. There is emphasis, however, that failure in such areas as marriage, work, scholastic competence and even crime does not in itself constitute evidence of inadequacy. Over and above such failure there must be a discernible lack of drive and general purpose that permeates the whole of the life picture.

I would like to illustrate this point further by reference to some as yet unpublished work by Bernard Marcus, Principal Psychologist at Wakefield, who, in a further analysis of the material gathered by Dr. Roper on the Wakefield prison population, has indicated that those prisoners who have done badly according to all social norms and whose life represents abject social failure in marriage, work and everything else, can be divided into two categories. On one hand are those who, as it were, fail aggressively and actively break up their social roles. On the other hand there are those who fail passively, allowing life to slip through their fingers without being able to make any decisive effort to influence what happens. Both types fail and at the superficial level of examination their behaviour may appear to be similar. Closer examination, however, reveals that although the end result may be the same, *i.e.*, disorganisation, the means of achieving it have been different.

This takes us to the next point, namely, differentiation between the inadequate and the neurotic. Neuroticism, I think you will agree, implies the existence of emotional conflicts and an inappropriate solution to them expressed in behaviour. There is also some degree of anxiety and some repetitive inflexibility of the neurotic behaviour pattern. Observers agree that these signs are absent in the inadequate. In their place they postulate a general reactivity to non-specific stress, that is, there are no particular areas in the life of the inadequate which in the neurotic would activate conflict and symptomatic behaviour. The inadequate's response to stress is non-specific; almost any stress upsets him and drives him into his inadequate behaviour; *i.e.*, there is no symptom-like neurotic pattern. It has been said that there is "lack of a clear nuclear psychopathological conflict."

A minority of observers put forward the idea that the inadequate is in fact a stabilised neurotic who achieves his stability by his circumscribed way of life. They say that he is in fact acting out this conflict and his particular form of acting out is inadequacy. There is a further suggestion along the same lines, namely that the freedom from personal anxiety he exhibits has been achieved by avoidance of situations which arouse it. The avoidance which takes the form of inadequate behaviour is, as it were, a defence

mechanism. The implication is clear that if by some means or other the inadequate were forced to become adequate then his nuclear neurotic conflict, whatever it may be, would flare up and we would have a typically neurotic picture instead of the one that confronts us. This sort of speculation is, of course, in the tradition of the psycho-analytic view of habitual criminal behaviour, in which delinquency is regarded as an acting out process by which the inner conflict is externalised and whereby the individual preserves his inner equilibrium.

With regard to the inadequate personality, however, this represents, as I have said, a minority view. It is pointed out that no doubt there exist actors-out of this order. They can be recognised amongst some of the chronic vagrants and down and outs who drift through the prisons. These may be regarded as inadequate personalities, but in many of them it is possible to discern some positive pattern in their way of life. The elements of avoidance are present but the vagrant life itself seems to offer positive gain. If one can take the time and effort demanded for a thorough diagnostic survey of these people a clear-cut pattern can often be discerned. The lack of specificity, namely, the mark of the inadequate, does not seem to be present.

There is one area, however, which appears to mar this picture of non-specific reaction to stress and that emerges in the observer's comments on marriage breakdown amongst inadequate personalities. Here the most common picture seems to be of a weak and ineffectual man married to a weak woman who nonetheless is more positive in her behaviour and in her goal-directed striving than he is. He attempts to hand over the actual running of family life to her whilst retaining what might be called the narcissistic privileges of masculine indulgence—to come and go as he pleases, to have his minor pleasures of drink and tobacco, not necessarily to excess, all irrespective of the condition of the family budget. When stress arises, as it inevitably does from squalid living conditions, in-law trouble, and erratic finances concomitant on a poor work record, then he often quits the scene, he fails to come home and drifts away.

Now you may feel that this represents a typically chaotic situation which is the outcome of social pressure rather than any possible

conflictful contrivance, but the possibility that it contains some true narcissistic goal-directed strivings, even if they are only on an infantile level, remains. Since this is the only situation we have discovered which recurs in the life of inadequates with sufficient frequency to be considered a pattern and as such perhaps symptom-like, we should note it before passing on.

To summarise this section then, the majority view is that there is no evidence for neurotic conflict. It is said that the inadequate personality lacks specific reaction to stress in accordance with the neurotic pattern. A minority view is that inadequate behaviour is either an externalisation process or a defence mechanism which shields the inadequate personality from neurotic conflict.

Now we turn to the other diagnostic category from which we seek differentiation, namely that of psychopath. Many observers raised the old problem of "What is a psychopath?" No one, however, attempted to answer this. Differentiation, it is felt, rests mainly in the degree of energy that the inadequate puts out as compared to the psychopath. The psychopath has, it was felt, a certain exuberance and a certain determination in the pursuit of his short-term goals. This is lacking in the inadequate. Differences seem to rest mainly at a behavioural level springing from this fact. Indeed, some observers believe that the inadequate can be classed as a variety of psychopath and Henderson's concept of the psychopathic personality is quoted here; his definition rests almost exclusively on social behaviour.²

To get deeper clarification of this area we must turn to speculation on the psychodynamics which can underlie the inadequate personality and give rise to the passive non-specific stress reaction and attempt to compare them with what we believe to be the psychodynamics of the psychopath.

First of all I was surprised that the possibilities of constitutional disposition received very little mention. It may be that, since we know so little of the determinants in this field, most people take it for granted that physical predisposition plays some part in all personality organisation and then they pass on to the examination of the more clearly known psychogenic determinants.

² Henderson, D. K., and Gillespie, R. D., *A Textbook of Psychiatry* (1950) Oxford University Press.

If we approach the problem of the psychopath from the psycho-analytically orientated investigations of Dr. John Bowlby,³ then our basic hypothesis is that the psychopath's capacity for forming sustained and fruitful relationships with people has in some way been damaged, because of traumatic experiences which have involved separation from the mother at an early age. The psychopath, it is held, has reacted by thereafter forming only superficial relationships and because of this has failed to incorporate a coherent superego or, in other words, a set of terms on which he and the world can get along. This way of behaviour may be the outcome of denying the anxiety which arose in the early traumatic situation. If it is successful, then the psychopath's behaviour is relatively free from anxiety save that of an immediate sort arising directly from the present situation.

The same set of circumstances might well be held to apply to the inadequate but with an essential difference, namely that the psychopath seems capable of investing sufficient emotion in himself to pursue his short-term goals, often with considerable vigour. The inadequate does not. We may look therefore for marks of differentiation at the narcissistic involvement level. How much, as it were, does the individual value himself and his needs? It may be that the inadequate represents a more complete failure than the psychopath. The psychopath has at least invested in himself; the inadequate has invested nothing. One observer commenting on female inadequates mentions that she is often struck by an atmosphere of sadness which seems to permeate them, she wonders if their psychopathology did not approximate more closely to that of the depressive than anything else. This seems to be an interesting clinical note in line with the hypothesis just stated.

I should add that the majority of those who gave replies in the tricky field of speculation on dynamics favoured by Bowlby and his school seem to do so largely because of a vacuum which would have existed if Bowlby's thinking had not been there. This means that they do not wholeheartedly accept Bowlby but rather feel that he is the only coherent theorist in an otherwise barren field. In making

³ Bowlby, J., *Maternal Care and Mental Health* (1951) World Health Organisation, Geneva; *Forty-four Juvenile Thieves* (1946) Baillière, Tindall and Cox, London.

this statement I may perhaps be doing an injustice to what might be loosely called the conditioned reflex school of thought whose most prominent exponent in this country is Professor Eysenck of the Department of Psychology of the Maudsley Hospital. He, too, received some mention from our observers. Eysenck, as you may know, puts forward a theory of personality in which the conditioned response mechanism is regarded as the basic learning process through which all behaviour is acquired.⁴

Eysenck has devised a system of psychometric tests which he claims differentiate one class of people which he calls "introverts" from another class which he calls "extraverts." In his examination of the psychopath Eysenck claims that testing establishes that these people fall most frequently into the extraverted category. In turn it follows that they possess only shallowly conditioned reflex responses acquired with difficulty and soon extinguished. One would anticipate therefore that they would more easily surrender values and behaviour acquired by training and upbringing than would their introverted fellows. The psychopath, the argument runs, in fact carries the shallow conditioned response to a pathological degree. Hence we can understand the dynamics of the psychopath in terms of the quality of the conditioned reflex mechanism which in turn may rest upon the neurological make up of the person concerned.

I can find no direct references to the inadequate personality in the literature of this area but several observers mentioned in passing that Eysenck's theories might have some relevance for our understanding of it. Presumably the inadequate would be an extravert *par excellence* with hyper-shallow conditioning and extinguishing of responses. It is only fair to add that, although there is a good deal of experimental work put out by the Eysenck school, there is at present a growing tendency to be critical of his results and to re-interpret his statistical findings. Within our own prison field, for instance, recent work of both Bernard Marcus and Allen Bartholomew tends to indicate some doubt as to the applicability of the introvert-extravert scale to the highly selected population that come into prison.⁵ However in an area in which theoretical concepts are

⁴ Eysenck, H. J., *The Scientific Study of Personality* (1952) Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

⁵ See *Brit.J.Delinq.*, Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 120-129.

few and far between we must at least take note of Eysenck's position.

Finally, we turn to another school of thought which sees the dynamics of the inadequate entirely in social terms. Extreme holders of this view are in a small minority, but in a general way the effect of social pressures is acknowledged in the thinking of most of those who replied. I must say at the outset that just what effect social pressures have in any precise sort of way is nowhere clearly stated.

In earlier paragraphs we touched upon the inadequate's failure to abide by middle-class norms which are also to a great extent the norms of the more vigorous sections of the working class. This whilst being generally admitted has not been regarded as crucial. The theories of Cohen ⁶ and of Hewitt and Jenkins ⁷ are mentioned by some. Whilst these give indication of how the aggressive breaker-up of norms comes to exist, namely a man who is in rebellion against his have-not status, they do not give much help when it comes to understanding the passive inadequate.

Sprott's work in the Nottingham survey on the other hand emphasises cultural or sub-cultural unity. It is suggested by analogy that a cultural sub-group of inadequates could exist in which the behaviour that marks them out was the accepted standard amongst their families and contemporaries. Sprott, however, represents an extreme position since he maintains that when considering sub-cultural conditions which differ grossly from culture norms it is not necessary to postulate a psycho-pathological condition of personality as well. In his view, therefore, it would be possible for the inadequate to be a perfectly well adjusted member of his particular community. This view, although untenable to most of us, might not seem unreasonable when we consider how well many inadequates adjust to prison. A further elaboration of Sprott's position put forward at length by one observer is that the inadequate is a person who has failed to come down on either one side or the other in a cultural conflict.⁸ The inadequate, it is suggested, has in fact opted

⁶ Cohen, A. K., *Delinquent Boys* (1946) Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

⁷ Hewitt, L. E., and Jenkins, R. L., *Fundamental Patterns of Maladjustment: the Dynamics of their Origin* (1946) Papers of The State of Illinois.

⁸ Sprott, W. H. J. See Jones, H., *Crime and the Penal System* (1956) University Tutorial Press, London.

out into passive avoidance. The fact that he has opted out is manifest. The crucial question which this approach does not answer is—why has he?

Another interesting hypothesis put forward by a small minority is what might be called the theory of cumulative social failure. This in effect states that the inadequate has faced such adverse social conditions from early life that every attempt he has made to master them has ended in failure. He has therefore retreated into passive day-to-day living at a low level. This approach has a certain attractive common sense quality about it and furthermore a logical derivation from it would be to manoeuvre the heretofore failure into some sort of achievement. If this can be done then, no matter how minor it is, the pattern of failure might be broken and so perhaps release energy which could be used constructively. This marches very much in accord with the methods of some whom I would call educators rather than therapists who have claimed success in this field. I have in mind people such as Homer Lane and David Wills. You will note, however, that such an approach would be regarded with hesitation by those who believe inadequacy to be a defence mechanism against personal conflict and anxiety. They would, of course, hold that attempts to manoeuvre the inadequate into adequacy would either produce great anxiety in the subject or end in failure because of the resistance that would be put up by him in order to defend himself.

Finally, to draw the threads together in this area of social hypotheses, I would say that, although the majority of observers feel a social element is present, precise theories about what this should be are lacking. The nearest we can get are two somewhat sketchy suggestions, the first concerning sub-cultural effects and the second what I would call the theory of cumulative social failure.

Now let me turn to the last area of this inquiry, namely to consider what indications all this might have for us in the prison field.

I will begin by offering some subjective impressions. Recently I had occasion to visit the P.D. semi-open camp at Eastchurch. The P.D. population as a whole, as Mr. Taylor's survey indicates, reveals many of the marks of the Inadequate Personality category. Those

at Eastchurch, who are specially selected for their suitability for open conditions, would one might anticipate contain a higher than normal proportion of inadequates since the aggressives would fail to qualify.

The major features of the Eastchurch population seem to me to be a narrow personal routine, a withdrawal from active participation, a stunting of the ego to a level of life where only the minor comforts of tobacco and freedom from intrusion from the outside world were valued. Although they now lived in conditions free from the more stultifying elements of prison routine, it seemed to me that they were unwilling to forgo them and to expand under the benevolently paternal régime there. Their inadequacies had, as it were, become more inadequate by virtue of long exposure to prison conditions.

It may well be that prison routine of the conventional sort is the reverse of rehabilitative for the inadequate personality type. A further examination of this problem, coupled to a greater understanding of what we have loosely called the inadequate personality might lead to the beginnings of hammering out a routine specially suited to such people and submitting them to it at the earliest possible moment after their entry into the prison system. Sound treatment can rest only on proper understanding and this in turn springs from careful differentiation of the diagnostic and descriptive terms that we use. If nothing else this exercise has demonstrated the number of conditions that can underlie behaviour which at a superficial level appears to have much in common, and which is often grouped under the label "Inadequate Personality."

The recent White Paper on "Penal Practice in a Changing Society"⁹ places emphasis on the classification of prisoners by personality type and suggests that less reliance should be placed on existing methods in which criminal history is the main criterion. The criminal history will continue to play a part in our considerations, but if the White Paper's suggestion is implemented it means that diagnosis in terms of personality type and of the dynamics which underlie the type will become more operationally useful as the prison comes to evolve more specialised methods of treatment. I assume that the work of the forthcoming observation and

⁹ *Penal Practice in a Changing Society*, White Paper Cmnd. 645 (1959) H.M.S.O.

classifying centres also mentioned in the White Paper will be concerned with these problems.

I think that this survey has shown that the rag-bag of the inadequate, the immature and so on needs opening up. So far the psychopath has received most of the attention—he provides the fireworks as it were of the prison population and the inadequate provides the numbers.

Looking back over the results of the inquiry so far you will see that greater emphasis has been placed upon what the inadequate is not rather than what he is. It is certain, I think, that if we look at the category with a critical diagnostic eye its numbers would be much diminished. Indeed it might disappear. In its place we should expect a number of neurotics of the less obvious sort, a number of actors-out of conflicts and a number of those who have arranged their lives at a low level on a stress avoidance pattern. It might be that we would then be left with a nuclear group which falls into none of the above categories and which displays the clinical symptoms of the inadequate in pure form, namely all-round social failure, a universal reaction to stress, a lack of coherent direction and drive, plus a lack of anxiety save that of an immediate sort. If such a group exists, it would be worthy of intensive study.

It may be that a by-product of the current work into the differential characteristics of recidivists and first-timer prisoners being carried out by the Psychologist Group and the Home Office Research Unit will provide more exact knowledge of the types we have been discussing. This research aims at discovering the frequency of certain background characteristics, patterns of performance in various tests and, to a lesser degree, of personal characteristics which differentiate first-timers from recidivists. Some results should be available towards the end of this year.

THE HABITUAL CRIMINAL

OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF MEN SENTENCED TO PREVENTIVE DETENTION ¹

R. S. TAYLOR (*London*) *

Introduction

THE establishment of the Allocation Centre at Wandsworth Prison early in 1956 for all men serving a sentence of preventive detention in England and Wales afforded an opportunity to examine a group of men who by the nature of their sentence could be described as persistent offenders.

The preventive detention sentence was first introduced under the Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, and, in the words of the Home Secretary of the day, was intended for "professional criminals who were often highly skilled in their trade and who preferred a life of crime." ² The sentence was modified by the Criminal Justice Act, 1948. The principal changes meant that more men would be eligible for the sentence, which itself became preventive rather than punitive, while the régime became positive rather than negative.

To be eligible for the sentence, the Act states that the offender must be not less than thirty years of age, must be convicted on indictment of an offence punishable with imprisonment for a term of two years or more and must have been convicted on indictment on at least three previous occasions since he attained the age of seventeen of offences punishable on indictment with such a sentence and was on at least two of those occasions sentenced to Borstal training, corrective training or imprisonment; then if the court is satisfied that it is expedient for the protection of the public that he

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¹ I am indebted to the Prison Commissioners for permission to publish this article but permission does not imply that it represents their views.

² *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 190, col. 499.

should be detained in custody for a substantial time, followed by a period of supervision if released before the expiration of his sentence, the court may pass a sentence of preventive detention for such term of not less than five nor more than fourteen years as the court may determine.³ It will be noticed that the Act emphasises that the public is to be protected by detaining these offenders for a long period.

Method

Men serving preventive detention are transferred from a local prison to the allocation centre usually about a year after sentence and stay about a month. During this period they are interviewed by an Assistant Governor, medical officer and psychologist. Cognitive and personality tests are administered by a psychological tester. The decision as to which of the four prisons set aside for preventive detainees each man should go is based on assessments made at these interviews.

The information upon which this article is based was obtained from interview data and from the penal records of one hundred consecutive receptions at the allocation centre in 1956. This group appears to be representative of the preventive detention population as a whole, for there is a high measure of agreement with a similar sample assessed by an independent observer some three years later. This paper contains some of the findings of a survey in which a random sample was examined to discover what kind of men received this sentence and to determine whether any features emerged which were common to the group. The range of sentences being served by this group of one hundred men was from five years to thirteen, with a median of eight years (S.D. ± 1.1).

Age Factors

The age on conviction ranged from thirty to seventy (mean 40.4; S.D. ± 8.5) with the median age at thirty-seven. Eighty per cent. were under fifty. The low incidence of older men may indicate a reluctance by the courts to sentence older men to preventive detention or it may be that there are comparatively few older men who

³ Criminal Justice Act, 1948, H.M.S.O.

are eligible. Some support for the latter contention is given by the finding of Dr. Norval Morris,⁴ who examined the records of 270 confirmed recidivists who were serving sentences of imprisonment in Wandsworth in 1948, all of whom would be eligible for preventive detention. He found an age range from thirty to seventy. The average age was forty-one years six months (S.D. $\pm$ eight years six months). This indicates that the great mass of recidivists "disappear" before fifty. Sir George Benson⁵ has provided some evidence as to how this disappearance is distributed by age.

The age on first conviction ranged from eight to forty-two with a mean age 18.5 (median 18.6; S.D. $\pm$ 1.4). The figures are comparable with those obtained by Morris for the group mentioned above. He found an identical range but with a mean age 19.2 (S.D. $\pm$ three years three months) and refers to similar findings in Canada⁶ and Belgium⁷ amongst confirmed recidivists.

Lady Wootton⁸ has noted that the late entry into crime is a feature which has been observed in a number of studies of adult recidivists. This group proved to be no exception to this general finding. In the publication *Criminal Statistics*,⁹ the fourteen-year-olds are recorded as having the greatest number of persons found guilty per 100,000 compared with other age groups. In 1938, when many of the preventive detainees were in their boyhood, it was the thirteen-year-old age group which contained proportionately a greater number of offenders than any other age group. After thirteen the number of persons found guilty per 100,000 decreases from 1,315 to reach 740 for the eighteen-year-old age group, *i.e.*, the mean age of first conviction for preventive detainees. These figures may not be strictly comparable but the trend is a clear one. The fact that the fourteen-year-olds are now the largest age group is probably due to the raising of the school leaving age from fourteen to fifteen in 1946.

⁴ Morris, N., *Habitual Criminal*, p. 339 (1951), Longmans, London.

⁵ Benson, George, *Brit.J.Delinq.* 5, No. 2, 1954, at p. 138.

⁶ See note 4, *supra*, at p. 339.

⁷ See note 4, *supra*, at p. 301.

⁸ Wootton, B., *Social Science and Social Pathology*, pp. 159-161 (1959), Geo. Allen & Unwin, London.

⁹ *Criminal Statistics*, 1958, Appendix III (a), H.M.S.O.

*Criminal History**Number of previous convictions*

The range of the number of previous convictions was from three to forty-three (mean 16.5; S.D. $\pm$ 5.23). The group included men who had served numerous short sentences for petty thefts and also those who had served comparatively few but lengthier sentences for more serious crimes.

Previous sentences

The pattern of previous sentences which the group had served varied considerably. Some sixty men had been bound over or placed on probation on one or more occasions whilst forty men had not been dealt with in this way.

Sixty-one had experienced previous custodial training whilst thirty-nine had not. Those who had had previous training were distributed as follows:

Approved school only	4	Approved school, Borstal and	
Approved school and Borstal	21	corrective training	4
Approved school and correc-		Borstal only	16
tive training	1	Corrective training only ...	15

If the fifteen cases who received corrective training only are excluded, since to be eligible for that sentence an offender must be over twenty-one, we find that forty-one of the sixty-seven (69 per cent.) who had been convicted before twenty-one had received one or more forms of training at approved school or Borstal.

All the men had served prison sentences, ranging from a cycle thief who had served thirty-six prison sentences at the one extreme to a sex offender who had served two prison sentences. The mean number of prison sentences served was eleven (S.D. $\pm$ 6.6).

There were nineteen men who had previously served a sentence of preventive detention, two had served under the 1908 Act and sixteen under the 1948 Act, whilst one man had served two sentences, one under each Act. Clearly these men had not been deterred after serving a long sentence.

Period of criminality

The Gluecks¹⁰ have advanced the view that criminals tend to have a period of criminality lasting about seven years, after which they settle down and lead a more or less normal existence. Exceptions to this tendency are the mentally abnormal. It is interesting to find the period of criminality for this group, as measured by the number of years between the first conviction and the most recent conviction, ranged from eight years to fifty-one years (mean 21.8 years; S.D. $\pm$ 3.1 years).

Interval between last sentence and current sentence

The range was from less than one month to six-and-a-half years. However, all but four men were convicted within two years of the completion of the last sentence, the mean being nine months, S.D. $\pm$ eleven months. A few men had been convicted since serving their last sentence but had not been committed to prison. The short period between the sentences is largely a function of the sentence, for courts are unlikely to sentence a man to preventive detention if he has shown that he has been leading an honest existence for some time.

Examination of the previous convictions shows that, with only a few exceptions, most men have been almost continuously in trouble with only short intervals at liberty between sentences since the time of their first conviction. Very often, the disaster of the first conviction was a complete one in that the offender was quite unable or unwilling to re-establish himself. It was rare to find a man who had in fact re-established himself for a period of longer than two years since first conviction. Such exceptions were usually due to marriage, but the failure of marriage would then bring a complete collapse. Yet many of the men, sentence after sentence, say and seem to believe that "this will be the last time." They are great optimists and in fact after each sentence many do manage to find accommodation and get employment and at that stage offend again. The striking thing about these men is that crime and prison seem to provide some form of refuge from the world at large, a reaction which seems to be almost of an hysterical order.

¹⁰ Glueck, S., and E. T., *After-conduct of Discharged Offenders*, Chap. VII (1945).

*The Offences**Type of offence committed*

The group was predominantly comprised of thieves and house-breakers. In the following table the principal offences committed by members of the group on previous occasions, together with the offences for which they received the current sentence, are set out. For comparative purposes, a table from *Criminal Statistics*¹¹ showing the distribution of all males convicted on indictment over thirty years of age, according to type of offence, has been included.

Type of offence	Previous offences committed by P.D.s	Current offence for which sentenced to P.D.	All males over 30
Larceny	21	37	60.1
Breaking and entering	51	40	9.4
Receiving	—	4	5.5
Fraud and false pretences	12	12	6.6
Sex	8	3	7.2
Violence	8	8	6.1
Others	—	—	5.1
	100	104	100.0

Value of property stolen

The value of the property stolen forming the main charges laid against each offender was given in the police report. This is set out below.

Up to £1	13 men	Value not known	7 men
£10	23 "	Sex offenders	3 "
£100	25 "	Breaking and entering	
£100-£500	14 "	with intent	5 "
£1,000-£4,500	5 "	Violence	4 "
£37,000	1 man		

Although as a group these men had had many years of criminal experience and crime had been a favoured topic of conversation

¹¹ *Criminal Statistics*, 1958, p. xi, H.M.S.O.

during former sentences, their offences for the most part were comparatively trivial. A number of men surrendered themselves to the police to confess their crimes whilst some others committed their offences in such a way as to make detection almost certain. There were a few men who were extremely competent and skilful in the carrying out of their offences.

Criminal associates

It was surprising to find that eighty-three men committed their last offence alone, whilst twelve were associated with one other person, usually someone they had met casually, and five were involved with a gang including three or more persons. It was equally surprising to find that sixty-five men had committed all their previous offences alone, whilst eighteen had at some time been involved with one other associate, but never more, whilst seventeen had been involved with gangs of three or more in the past. As might be expected, the solitary offenders were usually those who were first convicted comparatively late in life, while those who were first in trouble as juveniles tended to be gang offenders.

As a group, with a few exceptions, they tended to despise their fellow-prisoners. After each sentence the majority avoided contact with other offenders. A few were habitués of London's West End or its equivalent in other cities but it was unusual to find a man who had been prominent in criminal groups.

Family Circumstances

From the interviews it was possible to gain some information about the men's early years. It was rare to have any record of the home from a social worker, so that information came mainly from each man. The amount of detail and the accuracy of the data varied but it has been possible to get some evidence of the home situation and the kind of upbringing each man experienced.

For purposes of comparison I have chosen the age fourteen. This age marks, broadly, the period of passing from puberty to adolescence and it is also the age at which most of these men left school and began to achieve independence as wage-earners.

Complete v. broken homes

At the age fourteen, sixty were living at home with both parents. Of the forty others, twenty-two had one or both parents dead, twelve came from homes deserted by one or both parents, one had a parent in a mental hospital, another had parents divorced and four men could give no reliable information. Seven of the forty were illegitimate. It is interesting to find that the death of a parent was a rather more frequent cause of a broken home than the separation of the parents owing to discord or other reasons.

Emotional tone of the home

Since a feature of this group has been the comparatively late age on first conviction and since a larger proportion came from complete homes, an assessment was made, in a rough way, of the tensions existing within the home. It seems that a broken home, particularly one "broken" by the death of the father when the child was quite young, need not be, *per se*, an unhappy or stressful home, just as we know that many a home which is complete is beset by strife, jealousy and other factors making for misery. A dichotomous subjective assessment was made which I shall term "Home disturbed—Home not disturbed."

On this basis the following ratings were made:

	Complete homes	Broken homes *	
Home not disturbed	33	10	N = 97
Home disturbed	27	27	N.S.

* 3 not assessed.

The ten men from "broken homes" who had a comparatively stress-free boyhood include seven brought up by the mother with or without a stepfather and two men brought up by their father and older sister. One man brought up in an orphanage regarded his years there as being his happiest and was still emotionally very dependent on the orphanage, writing to the staff whilst in prison and paying visits whilst at liberty.

As might be expected, some twenty-seven men (68 per cent.) of this group had a very stressful upbringing; many had undergone

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severe deprivation during their formative years which continues to show its effects.

The following table shows that whilst there is no statistically significant relationship between age on first conviction and broken homes, that between disturbed homes and first conviction before age nineteen is highly significant.

	Convicted before age 19	Convicted age 19 or older	
Homes complete	31	29	N = 100
Homes broken	25	15	N.S.
Homes not disturbed	15	28	N = 97
Homes disturbed	38	16	$\chi^2 = 11.1$ P = .001

An independent assessor (Dr. J. G. Field) examined the reports of a different group of men serving preventive detention and assessed them using similar criteria. He obtained a similar result, also significant at .001 level. These findings do seem to indicate that emotional stress and tensions with resulting defective relationships may play a greater part in criminogenesis of recidivists than does absence through death or desertion of one of the parents.

Men from disturbed homes were more likely to commit offences with others ($\chi^2 = 8.2$; $P = .01$). We have seen that those from disturbed homes were first convicted at an earlier age than those who were not. This trend may be no more than the tendency for juveniles to commit crimes in gangs and for adults to operate alone, but it is just as likely that offenders from disturbed homes seek the companionship of others whilst those from happier homes behave in a more neurotic, solitary fashion.

Socio-economic status of the family

Quite a number of the men were uncertain what their father's employment had been and there is no information for about a third of the group. Only a small number claimed to have experienced poverty in boyhood but there was little evidence available about this in the records. The majority (40 per cent.) claimed that their father

had a semi-skilled trade or occupation whilst some thirteen men claimed that their fathers were professional or white-collar workers. There were eleven whose fathers were said to be labourers and five who were self-employed as jobbing builders or general dealers.

Even allowing for "halo" effects, it is noticeable that so many came from homes which were clearly not in the lowest income groups. It was not uncommon to hear that after their first conviction they were unable to return home because their family might be embarrassed and their social reputation might suffer. Others reported that their families had refused to allow them to return home again. Amongst the lower income homes of unskilled workers such sanctions were not imposed. There was some evidence that social respectability mattered most to those homes which were "complete" (*i.e.*, not broken) but disturbed.

Sibling position

There were thirteen men who had been an "only" child. There were twenty-four who had been the eldest, excluding the only children, forty-four were neither oldest nor youngest whilst nineteen were the youngest in their "natural" family group. The family size ranged from "only" children to three men who were from families of twelve children. The mean was 4.6 children ($S.D. \pm 2.6$).

The "eldests" and "onlys" tend to commit their previous offences alone whilst the youngest and the "intermediates" are more likely to have been involved with others ($\chi^2 = 10.5$; $P < .01$). This seems to be in line with the general finding of J. P. Lees and L. J. Newson¹² and others with juvenile delinquents.

Criminal relatives

There was no evidence that these men came predominantly from families with criminal records. Some fifteen men had relatives who had been convicted. One man was the son of a recidivist whilst another four men had brothers who were recidivists. The remainder had relatives who had been convicted on a criminal charge on one

¹² Lees, J. P., and Newson, L. J., "Family or Sibship Position and some Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency," *Brit.J.Delinq.* 5, No. 1, 1954, pp. 46-65.

occasion only. The group claimed 357 siblings, six of whom were reported to have had convictions.

This seems to dispose of the opinion sometimes held that habitual offenders are the products of criminal families. Comparison with a group of first offenders yields almost identical percentages.

Marital state

Few men in the group were able to sustain any close emotional relationship and this is shown quite clearly in their marriages. Forty-one men were single; for them marriage was a prospect too awful to contemplate. There were fifteen who were married, but some of these marriages were very tenuous affairs which had been in this condition for many years. Four of these seemed unlikely to survive the current sentence. One man was a widower. Twenty men have been divorced whilst twenty-five were separated. Two men were cohabiting at the time of their arrest. There were four men who at one time contracted bigamous marriages whilst the wives of two of the fifteen married men were more than twenty years their senior. Nearly half of all marriages were childless, whilst thirty-four men had been the fathers of a total of ninety-two children.

Family and social contacts

We have just seen that only a few married men (20 per cent.) maintain contact with their wives. A further 30 per cent. were in touch with their families whilst the remainder had no contacts. Of the single men about 30 per cent. maintained regular correspondence whilst in prison with relatives, visiting them when out of prison, but the majority had no such ties.

The living accommodation just before their last conviction reflects their solitariness. The majority (70 per cent.) had no home at all whilst the remainder lived with their wives, parents or relatives. The preference of the homeless men was for furnished rooms and the majority had such accommodation. Generally men preferred to "do" for themselves and avoided lodgings where they were looked after. A minority lived in a common lodging house or hostel.

For many, the idea of staying in a hostel was an anathema and to be avoided at all costs. It was frequently explained that such places are frequented by drunks, tramps and dead-beats, and that, however much the offender may have degenerated, he would not sink so low as to stay in such a place. There were ten men who were living "rough," sleeping out on railway stations, in barns, etc. Some of these men, too, objected to staying in a lodging house and chose their less comfortable abode in preference. The hostel seems to represent a very low order of accommodation in social terms and it may be a reflection of the lasting effects of the type of home which some of the men were brought up in that they reject such living conditions. This seems to give added confirmation that many of the group come from homes other than the lowest income group.

The preference for a room of one's own is perhaps natural enough, especially for men used to solitary living in prison, but many men stressed that when they chose a room they wanted to be alone and free from interference. It might be argued that such would be the choice of an experienced criminal wishing to "disappear" but it seemed that the general reaction was one of trying to hide away from people in general rather than from the police in particular.

Education, Employment and the Services

The majority had had an elementary education, leaving school at fourteen. Some ten men had been to a grammar school or public school which seems a surprisingly high number for such a group. About thirty men had had a thoroughly disturbed education due to such factors as illness, truancy and domestic upheavals. One man was illiterate.

It was not easy to get a detailed account of each man's employment history. The level of employment classified on the same basis as their fathers shows that the majority (sixty-five) were unskilled labourers, twenty-seven were semi-skilled whilst six were skilled artisans having completed an apprenticeship. One man was a general dealer. The longest job held ranged from less than a month to twenty-seven years. Some forty-four men had not held any job for longer than a year, whilst twenty-six had been in one job for three

years or more. After a conviction it was rare to find any man who had held a job for longer than six months.

More detailed information was available for service with H.M. Forces. Some eighty men had served with the Forces, eleven in the R.N., sixty-eight in the Army and one with the R.A.F. Sixty-three men were called up or volunteers during the war whilst thirty-seven had served regular engagements (seventeen men had served both types of engagement). The number of "regulars" seems to be high for such a group. Many joined up in an attempt to start a "new" life, to find a secure background with a career after personal failure. For many this step was also a disaster. They were discharged as follows. (Only the longest engagement served is recorded.)

Engagement completed satisfactorily	19
Discharged for disciplinary reasons	34
Discharged for medical/psychiatric reasons	27
	—
	80

Physical-Mental History

Nearly half of the group had a history of physical and mental illness.

Two men had at one time been certified insane and twelve had been voluntary patients in mental hospitals. Six men had made suicide attempts or demonstrations whilst a further five gave a history of meningitis, epilepsy and chorea.

Others had been in hospital suffering from various illnesses, injuries and disabilities. Many men were preoccupied with matters affecting their health and were anxious for reassurance about their general mental and physical condition.

Intelligence

The relationship between intelligence and recidivism has been a matter of some controversy, especially before the 1939 War. The literature up to that time includes papers which indicate that recidivists are of subnormal intelligence whilst other writers at that time reach different conclusions.

Recent papers by B. Marcus,¹³ J. W. Anderson¹⁴ and C. Franks¹⁵ have also considered this question. The first two writers find no correlation between intelligence and recidivism amongst adult offenders and juveniles respectively, which is also acknowledged by the third writer.

The Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale was administered to members of the group. This test has the advantage that allowance is made for age and so it was particularly useful for this group with its considerable age-range. Analysis of test results of other groups of men serving preventive detention give comparable findings.

For the group, the full-scale I.Q. range was from I.Q. 71 to I.Q. 142 (mean 97.4; S.D. $\pm$ 19.7). The distribution was almost a normal one.

This evidence suggests that this group of recidivists is normally distributed for intelligence and that low intelligence is not a factor contributing to their recidivism.

Discussion

In many ways this group of recidivists is heterogeneous. Most of the factors considered show a fairly wide scatter. Whilst many men came from homes which gave them a very poor start, there were those who came from seemingly satisfactory homes; some had never worked for longer than a few months whilst others had been steady and reliable workers for one employer for many years; some failed in the Services whilst others found an outlet for initiative and advancement, even to commissioned rank. Many were petty offenders, a few were more ambitious. Some were extremely withdrawn emotionally whilst others were buoyantly extraverted. It would be wrong to conclude that, since they were recidivists, they were a predominantly psychopathic group.

There were two notable characteristics of the group. One was that after the first conviction, with few exceptions, the men were

¹³ Marcus, B., "Intelligence, Criminality and the Expectation of Recidivism," *Brit.J. Delinq.*, 6, 1955, pp. 147-151.

¹⁴ Anderson, J. W., "Recidivism, Intelligence and Social Class," *Brit.J.Delinq.*, 8, No. 4, 1958, pp. 294-296.

¹⁵ Franks, C. M., "Recidivism, Psychopathy and Personality," *Brit.J.Delinq.*, 6, No. 3, 1956, pp. 192-201.

never at liberty for long before they were reconvicted, a cycle of events which has continued.

The other characteristic was that they were lonely men who had become inept in handling personal contacts and from their experiences had developed paranoid attitudes towards other people. They were highly critical in their judgments of people and their suspicions of other people's motives prevented them from leading a normal existence. In their view the world was a threatening and frightening place. They were unable to establish satisfactory contacts often because they were unable to tolerate the emotional demands which such contacts made on them, their reaction being to break away on the slightest pretext or without one.

It is clear that some had never developed very satisfactory social skills and this may include the minority who had been juvenile offenders. Others had developed these skills but, as a result of their experiences, were no longer able to use them effectively; they were no longer able to "get along with people."

From the information available about the early years of recidivists it is possible that juvenile delinquents and adult recidivists may be different people, that the factors which lead to a youngster offending may be of quite a different order from those which contribute to an adult becoming a recidivist. Only a minority of these recidivists were juvenile offenders, and it is possible that only a minority of juvenile recidivists become adult recidivists. For a juvenile, a criminal record may have far less serious personal consequences than such a record for an adult whose good character, reputation and career are jeopardised.

Summary

A group of one hundred recidivists serving sentences of preventive detention were examined and some of the findings have been described.

The main points are :

1. These recidivists tend to have a later entry into crime than juvenile delinquents.

2. A distinction can be drawn between the technically broken home and the " stressful " home.
3. The majority still favour breaking and entering, a method of crime abandoned by most other offenders of similar age group.
4. Their offences have a high nuisance value but in general they are not dangerous.
5. They tend to commit offences alone, many having always done so in the past.
6. Men whose boyhood was very disturbed emotionally are more likely to offend in gangs.
7. Men whose boyhood was very disturbed emotionally are more likely to have been juvenile offenders than those men from broken homes.
8. There was a low incidence of crime amongst relatives.
9. Few men maintained contacts with relatives or friends.
10. There was a high incidence of ill health, both mental and physical, in the past.
11. There was no evidence that the distribution of intelligence differed from that obtained in the normal, non-criminal, population.
12. Social avoidance was a dominant feature of the group.

A CASE OF NEUROTIC EXHIBITIONISM

C. B. R. POLLOCK (*Portland*) *

EXHIBITIONISM is a fairly common offence. It is an offence which tends to become habitual and for this reason a number of offenders are sent to prison for repeating their offence after being put on probation or conditionally discharged.

The majority of exhibitionists who appear in court are emotionally arrested, of below average intelligence and rather inadequate. For them exhibitionism is a substitute for mature sexual activity and resembles in significance the erotic play of children. It is seldom easy to obtain much history from men of this type. They usually deny any intent to do wrong and insist that they were surprised while making water. They persist in this story even when the evidence is overwhelmingly against them. They are not very distressed at being in prison nor much embarrassed at the nature of the charge that has brought them there. They present no special psychiatric problem.

There is another type of exhibitionist, the neurotic offender, of whom I had read but never met an example. Men of this type seldom come to prison. Either one prosecution and warning is enough or they are intelligent enough not to be caught or there are not many of them. For this reason I hope that the case history of a neurotic exhibitionist whom I met some years ago may be of interest.

This man was a first offender, a business man who had become involved in a minor capacity in a big financial swindle and was sentenced to imprisonment. He had never been charged with a sexual offence. I should have known nothing of his sex deviation had he not chosen to tell it to me. He made one or two false starts,

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but, once he had overcome his reluctance, he went away in good style and told his tale clearly and fully with little prompting.

"Smith" was born in 1919. His father was a mining engineer; his mother was the daughter of a country parson. During the 1914-18 War she had become a V.A.D. and had met and married her husband as a result of nursing him when he was wounded. There were two children of the marriage—a daughter, born in 1917, and my patient. Soon after the end of the war the family moved away from the grandfather's country vicarage where they had passed the war years and settled in a comfortable residential suburb of London. Then "Mr. Smith" senior had to go abroad again on mining business. Thus the household in Smith's earliest recollection consisted of his mother, sister and an elderly maid who acted as general stand-by. His father was represented by letters from abroad. His mother waited very impatiently for mail-day, which was always something of a holiday.

First his mother would retire with the mail to the "lounge" to read her letters. Then in the evening she would read excerpts to the children with frequent edifying comment and elucidation. There were always messages for the two children and sometimes individual notes included in their mother's letter. Father's existence was kept very much alive in their minds by mother's frequent and very impressive references. She made it plain that their father was not an ordinary man and that they were very lucky, not to say a little presumptuous, to have been born to such parents.

Smith says that in this period of his life he remembers nothing that seems significant in retrospect. Life, as he recalls it, was quite enjoyable. His mother prided herself on being a disciplinarian but the rigours of discipline were mitigated by her lack of persistence. She frequently enthused over some new system of spartan upbringing of which a friend had told her and which was to effect profound improvements in her children's character. She used to express great concern that she might not be devoting enough effort to moulding her children's characters and weeding out faults. But in practice campaigns for betterment of character usually died out fairly soon without achieving much.

Punishments were rare and usually took the form of lectures.

She would dwell on the utter disgust which knowledge of their shortcomings would arouse in their father if he should ever come to hear of them. Then she would debate with herself as to whether it was her *duty* to write and tell their father; whether it was not deceitful to withhold from their father knowledge of the moral obliquity of his children. These lectures, says Smith, were extraordinarily impressive. His mother herself must have believed in them completely. He and his sister would be reduced to tears and abject prayers to mother to do anything she liked but not to write to father. Eventually mother would be persuaded against her more scrupulous judgment not to write. She agreed to this only to save her husband from the pain that a full disclosure of his children's depravity would cause him. Smith says that looking back he cannot remember the actual misdeeds which occasioned any of these scenes and he thinks that they must have been pretty trivial.

They attended church and a Sunday school pretty regularly and were instructed in their moral duties, but mother never threatened to report them to God for their misdemeanours. The dominating figure on the moral side was always their absent father. In spite of their mother's preference for moral over other forms of force in maintaining her supremacy, Smith thinks that they lived a carefree life on the whole. The children learnt to dissociate the ideal code of conduct, which their mother said that their father would expect of them, from their actual day-to-day behaviour with their friends.

I could find no sign of any sex deviation having begun to appear up to this point in the story. Smith occasionally listened to or repeated dirty rhymes with a lavatorial theme. He found these rather amusing. He would of course have been very mortified at the idea of his parents knowing that he shouted out such words; but as long as they did not know he was not bothered. He can recall nothing resembling sex experience of any kind or of being much interested in the subject.

The only factors which Smith recalls from infancy and boyhood which might have a bearing on the aberration which subsequently developed were these. First his mother was always very strict about regularity of defaecation. In nursery days, the children always had to sit on their pots immediately after breakfast. A good

motion brought praise and a sweet. No motion meant deprivation of the morning sweet and an unexpressed condemnation. A purge was the maternal first line of defence against illness either developed or merely feared. Secondly, when his father was in the house the children were always told that he disliked the children playing about outside the lavatory door. His mother on the other hand would often shout out orders and rebukes from within the w.c. if she heard anything going on which she felt required her intervention. The result was that Smith grew up with a definite but unformulated feeling that modesty over matters of the toilet was a creditable trait.

His father came home on short visits nearly every year, and these were occasions of very great rejoicing. This peaceful life came to an end about 1930, when his father was transferred to his firm's City office. He had done well in his overseas job and had been decorated, which was quite a distinction for a civilian. The appointment to head office was a promotion, and all the family was jubilant.

Smith's parents decided that it was now time that he and his sister left the local day schools which they had been attending and went to boarding school. His mother explained that no boy who respected himself would wish to go to a day school all his life and that this step was a promotion for which he should be grateful. Smith accepted the idea with no misgiving and was shortly after deposited at a preparatory school. Here, without any warning, he developed violent home-sickness. This was the first time in his life that he had been aware of feeling permanently and desperately miserable. After two terms the misery lessened a little but he was thereafter and for the rest of his life subject to recurrent bouts of misery.

The school was well conducted. The Headmaster was inclined to rule by cultivating a sense of guilt in the boys and teaching them to despise those who did not live up to the moral precepts which he was constantly inculcating. Smith recalls that he used to set himself to try to win the Headmaster's praise. These efforts did not last long. At other times he was very upset to find himself actively disliking the Headmaster and he would try to conquer

this temptation which he felt must be wicked. There was no bullying or homosexual behaviour of even the most rudimentary sort.

In the last Easter holiday before leaving his preparatory school the first overt impulse towards exhibitionism appeared. He and his family went on a picnic. After food they all separated modestly to answer nature's calls. Smith went farther and farther into the wood. When he came to a place remote enough for his purpose, he felt a call to stool. Now on the one hand he felt that it was always virtuous to answer the call to stool. On the other he had never done this in the open air before and he felt that there must be some element of wrong in doing so. However, he squatted down with ears tense to detect the approach of intruders. He was immediately conscious of a sensation of intense physical and emotional pleasure. Subsequent experience taught him that this sensation had been sexual; but at the time he had no knowledge of sex. Puberty had not arrived and there was no erection or orgasm.

He returned to school in a state of great emotional disturbance. He kept daydreaming of being surprised by a woman while defaecating and of being whipped by her. He also had compulsive thoughts about defaecation. When historical characters were mentioned in lessons or in story books he would at once think: "He or she also had to go to the lavatory. How did they do it? Did people do it openly in those days?" He was deeply ashamed of these thoughts and used to pray for deliverance, but the harder he prayed the more they obtruded themselves. During the next holidays he made several more trials of *al fresco* defaecation but always at a place safe from discovery.

When he arrived at his public school he found that the w.c.s were treated as something of a social centre. There were no doors and lively conversations were carried on between those enthroned and those awaiting their turn. Smith found this publicity horribly embarrassing for his first term and used to creep out to use the w.c. at times when they were likely to be empty, though in subsequent terms he took the whole arrangement for granted.

At this time too he learned about the actual mechanics of sexual intercourse about which he was developing a burning curiosity. His father had made some very shy attempts to enlighten him on

this subject. However, his father's embarrassment communicated itself to him. When his father asked if he was acquainted with the facts of life he replied that he was. To his disappointment his father accepted this and said no more and Smith was left with his curiosity unsatisfied. At school an older boy, learning of his ignorance, announced rather pompously that it was his duty to explain matters, which he did in melodramatic way.

Smith found the idea of sexual intercourse very repellent, yet could think of little else and was very eager to experience it. He learnt to masturbate spontaneously and thereafter masturbated regularly. Masturbation was accompanied by fantasies of exhibition and later of passive homosexuality. Although he had homosexual fantasies, he never, at school or later, took part in any homosexual activities and was careful to avoid the company of those suspected of practising it.

In the holidays he continued to practise exhibition regularly and developed almost a system of rules and ceremonial. His object was that he should be seen by girls or young women while defaecating; that he should appear to be surprised in the act; that the girls should be amused by the contretemps and should catch sight of his erect member and comment on it. He preferred rough coarse-mouthed girls like factory girls on a walk. On occasions when the women showed signs of anger or disgust or alarm he was horribly ashamed and fled from the spot as quickly as he could. These expeditions always ended in masturbation. As soon as orgasm had occurred he felt a deep disgust for himself and could hardly believe that he was the same man who had been behaving as he had. Feelings of self-disgust would last for a few days and then the urge to go out on the prowl again would seize him.

Looking back on this stage of his life he feels that he was three people. First, he was a very well-behaved young man who tried his best to conform with the high rather dull standards of conduct which his mother had always urged on him both explicitly and implicitly by praising his father's way of life as an example of perfection. Secondly, among his fellows at school he was foul-mouthed and preoccupied with thoughts and urges towards heterosexual experience. In this persona he would have been

delighted to be considered as Don Juan and to be envied by his friends for his fantasied sexual enterprise. Thirdly, there was the exhibitionist whose existence and activities horrified his other two selves.

While he was at school his father's health began to fail and his mother's influence became even more preponderant over the family. He had had vague hopes of going to the university and reading history or English, but this project was considered too expensive and at seventeen and a half he left school and became an articled pupil in a London office. He had looked forward to the freedom of life in London but the reality was very disappointing. First, he was cramped for money. Secondly, he was not a success as an articled pupil. He was careless and uninterested. His guilt feelings made him feel that he was in the wrong, or anyhow was bound to be thought to be in the wrong, on most occasions. As a result he submitted very unready to correction by his superiors. He quickly became shrill and argumentative; even when he was wrongly blamed he was incapable of stating his case without becoming offensive.

Soon after getting to London he managed to experience heterosexual intercourse. He sought every possible opportunity of repeating the experience, but his opportunities were few. He was repelled by the idea of going to prostitutes. He lacked the money and charm of manner necessary to recommend him to amateurs. His relations with the opposite sex were most unsatisfactory. He was importunate and possessive and suspicious.

During his London years he became completely addicted to exhibitionism. Whenever he entered a new building he would visit the w.c.s to estimate their suitability for his purpose. At weekends he made bicycle expeditions into the country. During the course of these expeditions he acquired a taste for voyeurism. He would spend hours playing Peeping Tom. He recalls that his orientation was always more toward the female than the male partner in the acts of intercourse which he managed to observe. He became more and more reckless and had several narrow escapes of being caught. He experienced in an extreme degree, after acts of exhibitionism, the depression which commonly accompanies male detumescence. This

was far more severe than the transient lowering of spirits which he used to experience after sexual intercourse.

He often contemplated suicide but made no overt step or attempt to translate thought into action. In these moods his life seemed to him disgusting and profitless and not worth continuing. His feelings arose from a sense of guilt but not of sin, for by this time he had become a thorough agnostic. He was too much absorbed by his own worries to have much time to spare for thinking about the problems of eternity and immortality.

He was saved from disaster by the outbreak of war. He was a member of a Territorial unit and was called up in 1939. He spent most of the war years abroad in the East and Mid-East. Here he had no urge at all to exhibition. In countries where nature's calls are commonly answered without any reticence or concealment exhibitionism would have been pointless.

He was commissioned and became a useful officer. He recalls with amusement that he was mentioned in dispatches for a successful reconnaissance. He attributed his success in this operation to the skill which he had gained in prowling about the commons of the Home Counties in the practice of his perversion.

Smith's father died during the course of the war. He recalls that when he opened the telegram he had a sudden feeling of exaltation of which he immediately felt ashamed. His next and permanent feeling was sorrow that he had never been able to overcome the barrier of shyness which parted him from his father. He wished he had managed to express to his father the affection which he felt towards him.

He was demobilised early and rejoined his firm and passed his final examinations in less than a year. This period in London was not nearly so trying as the pre-war period. He had gained confidence and experience. Also he had made friends with an accommodating war-widow who provided an outlet for his sex drives. On one or two occasions he yielded to the temptation to expose himself by opening the window of a w.c. but there were no more deliberate excursions into the country.

After passing his final examination he took up employment in Africa. Here again the temptation to self-exposure was slight. The

Europeans were few in number and all acquainted with each other. The natives would not have been interested. In Africa he married. His wife was a daughter of one of the directors of the firm for which he worked. He was not wildly in love with her, but esteemed her. Her parents had made it clear that they would welcome him as a son-in-law. They were kindly people, "weel-kent" in the community and well-off.

The marriage was not a great success. After some months he realised that his wife had married him on the rebound. She had had a very unhappy liaison with a married man, a sexually successful bounder who still lived in the neighbourhood. His mother-in-law had been much distressed and had hoped that a home and babies of her own would restore her daughter's happiness. Neither babies nor happiness resulted. The liaison, as often happens in small communities, was known to all parties but the bridegroom. Smith was enlightened about his wife's troubles by one of the local mischief-makers, a woman who affected to believe that he had married with his eyes open feeling that his father-in-law's backing would compensate him for his wife's known preference for another man.

Smith was deeply mortified and decided to leave his wife. However he was impressed by her transparent honesty when he discussed the matter with her. There was no doubt that she had genuinely hoped to be a good wife and that there had been no renewal of the liaison since marriage. It was also obvious that his wife could not free herself of her longing for her first lover although she was awake to his despicable character. Life in a small community in these circumstances was impossible. Smith decided to return to England with his wife. The wife and her parents agreed that this was the wisest thing to do. His father-in-law advanced him a sum of money to enable him to set himself up in business. Smith decided to forget his mortification by devoting his energies to acquiring wealth and the esteem which is accorded to wealth.

Since the start of the war Smith had seen little of his mother. He continued, however, to feel for her and for her pronouncements all the respect which he had been accustomed to feel as a boy and young man. He had written regularly and had continued to try to model his conduct on the pattern inculcated by her; at least

when he diverged from this standard, which often happened, he was aware of feelings of guilt. His humiliation over his marriage made him perhaps all the more eager to meet his mother again on his return to England. He was uncertain whether he should tell her how things stood between him and his wife. However, when he did meet her he was upset to find that she appeared much less interested in him and his affairs than he had expected. Her main interest seemed to be devoted to the circle of friends which she had formed during his long absence.

Smith now purchased an interest in an import-export business, and settled down to make money. After little more than a year he became aware that his partners were systematically defrauding the Revenue. They admitted it freely when taxed and said everyone did the same if they were to make anything of a living. Smith realised that he must either share the profits of fraud or go and denounce his associates to the authorities; and that if he took the latter course he would ruin the firm and lose all the money borrowed from his father-in-law. Also instead of being a director he would become just one more unemployed clerk. He decided to carry on and hope for the best.

But now the exhibitionist impulse which had been dormant so long awoke again. When driving in his car he scanned the countryside for opportunities to indulge his vice. In London he began again to expose himself at w.c. windows. The feelings of self-disgust which he had experienced as a young man returned with full force. He knew that he was guilty of abetting fraud and this seemed to drive him to increase his guilt by practising a perversion. He took increasing risks. One day, for example, he was in the w.c. of a cinema in South London and had succeeded in attracting the attention of some factory girls in a building across a narrow street. One of them left the group and went to a telephone. Smith realised that he was in danger and beat a hurried retreat but, even so, as he slipped out of the building two policemen were entering. For days after this Smith had confused nightmares by night; by day he would suddenly remember his narrow escape and break out into a sweat of retrospective terror.

It was at this point that the authorities became aware of the

illegal activities of his firm. Smith, weighed down as he was with guilty feelings, quickly made a clean breast of things and charges were preferred. When he broke the news to his wife he was surprised and overjoyed by her stout-hearted support. For months they had been living on terms of mutual politeness and indifference but now she displayed a lively affection surpassing any feelings which she had displayed even in the best days of their marriage. Smith found this unbelievably gratifying. He had come to believe that his marriage, if not a disaster, could never be a success and could never have any meaning for him. His wife's display of loyalty and affection almost outweighed the worry of being charged with an offence to which he had no convincing answer. His mother, on the other hand, treated his conduct as a personal wrong against herself and dwelt continually on the loss of esteem among her friends which she would suffer thereby.

In due course Smith and his colleagues appeared in court. They received long sentences, but he got off with much less as it appeared that he had not initiated the dishonesty and had profited by it unwillingly and to a less extent than the others. He received the sentence without great distress. For one thing it was less than his lawyers had advised him to expect. For another, after living so long with the haunting fear that his secret vice would be discovered and ruin him, the actual disaster which had befallen him seemed negligible. Moreover, he had fallen in love with his wife and felt that for the first time in his life he would be able to form a really mature and satisfactory relationship with a woman and be free of jealousies and guilt feelings.

While awaiting allocation, he had to spend some weeks in a crowded London prison. During much of the time he shared a cell with two other men. He found the conditions of life nauseating and protected himself by withdrawing himself from his surroundings and devoting himself to meditation on his past life. He had an intelligent layman's acquaintance with the doctrines of Freud and his academic descendants. He began to evolve a theory of the origin of his emotional troubles, but felt a need to test this by narrating it to someone else. A prison doctor is a very useful foil for this purpose. In prison everyone has disgraced himself in some way.

A patient knows that, no matter what he wishes to disclose, it is probable that someone else has done worse. A prison doctor is unlikely to be shocked. Also he has something of the anonymity of a confessor in a strange church. It is unlikely that patient and doctor will ever meet again.

The explanation which Smith and I worked out was that in fact his mother was always jealous of him as his father's only son. She wished to monopolise her husband's attentions. She rationalised these feelings by constantly setting before him an impossibly high standard of achievement. By implication she disparaged him in comparison with his father. His reaction was to try to gain her admiration by being a very good boy. At the same time he hated the good boy pose and was hopeless of succeeding in it. He therefore developed an opposition self, the exhibitionistic pervert. His neurotic reaction took the form of exhibitionism because this was a regression to the anal erotic stage of emotional development. It recalled the days when defaecation was associated with maternal attention. At this stage maternal jealousy and filial emotional diffidence had not begun to develop. It might be described as the last time at which Smith had enjoyed emotional equilibrium. It was therefore to this stage that he regressed in the formation of his neurosis.

His heterosexual difficulties in youth are explicable on the same hypothesis. His distrust of feminine affection was deep rooted. He could not believe in a woman's affection for him unless she was willing to grant him the last favour. Yet, when she did so, his guilt feelings sprang to life and were projected in the form of jealousy and distrust. No doubt his jealousy and suspicions of infidelity were often well founded, as girls who were willing to sleep with him on demand were not likely to be models of fidelity. Smith's jealousy was extreme and pathological. He could not bear to think of any woman he lay with having done so with other men before he met her; it was almost as painful to think of her doing so after their affair was ended. This sort of attitude was suitable in the days of Arabian Nights but was quite inappropriate to an articled clerk conducting a casual liaison with a "pick-up." He never had any interest in prostitutes, no doubt because a relationship frankly

founded on payment would have done nothing to allay his demand for affection evidenced by willingness to allow him to have intercourse. This explanation satisfied Smith.

After the end of our series of interviews I saw little more of Smith. I was told that his behaviour as a prisoner was thoroughly satisfactory. At the final interview before discharge we met almost as strangers. Neither of us referred to the matters which we had discussed earlier in the year. Smith appeared calm and confident. I never heard of him again, which is the best news of his patient which a prison doctor can have.

No doubt it is not uncommon for patients suffering from a neurosis to work out an analysis for themselves as Smith did. But in such cases they are unlikely to come to a medical man's notice. This history seemed to me to be interesting because one was able to occupy a ringside seat and see the development and regression of a fairly severe neurosis which had led to criminal conduct.

DELINQUENCY IN INDUSTRIAL AREAS

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OF recent years sociological studies of delinquency have gone out of fashion, are somehow regarded as no longer quite relevant, as applying to a past period. The concept of social misconduct as a product of disordered emotions is probably more in keeping with our sensitive age when the needs of the individual are the main focus of the social services, and when the training in casework tends to favour a psychiatric approach. But the social workers of the courts, as distinct from the clinics, who have opportunity of viewing the broad stream of delinquency before any selection occurs, may wonder if the present trend is wholly realistic.

The writer is one such and has found it a matter for regret that there should have been so few environmental studies in recent years. At a time when the Ministry of Education is perturbed at the failure of the Youth Service to attract the young people who would seem most in need of its facilities, and when crime figures relating to the same age-group continue to rise, one would have thought it appropriate to examine these phenomena as social and cultural trends rather than as a massive coincidence of unrelated individual difficulties of adjustment to social living.

Accurate study of the problem seems to require greater involvement in the situation than is usual in research methods. To be fully aware of the forces at work it would seem necessary for the researcher to have personal experience of working-class life, to live in the area to be studied for sufficiently long a period to absorb something of its atmosphere, and, best of all, to be integrated within a community on the basis of a useful and acknowledged service therein, and accepted by its members without on their part pretence or inhibition. Meeting this specification on some counts and

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considerably involved in the ways of delinquent youth, but unable to proceed with such research personally, I would offer the following considerations to whoso may be minded to undertake this timely work.

Pragmatic observation encourages the view that a great many offenders are socially gauche and immature rather than under tension of emotional conflict, and they behave as they do since, unaccustomed to thinking ahead to consequences, they are, as yet, inexperienced in positive social feeling outside a limited group. This type of offender is frequently met among working-class youth, particularly those from slum or clearance areas where low rentals obtain. The significance of this appears not to lie in the environmental conditions themselves, but in the tendency of certain families to gravitate to these districts, preferring to spend their income on other things than rent, while other families move out to attain better standards. These areas may be narrow—one end of a single street may subscribe to markedly different values from the other and all who grow up in the neighbourhood are conscious of the contrast, however subtle this may seem to an outsider. It is chiefly in attitude, but this may well be accompanied by recognisable differences in furnishings, domestic arrangements, leisure activities, or in speech, posture, attire and such extensions of personality.

There is sufficient difference of standards for these groups to draw apart, and indeed it would appear that a decanting process has been in motion since the beginning of the war; perhaps this should be recognised as one of the furthest-reaching consequences of that event, greater than evacuation, bombing, call-up of fathers, etc. The forgotten result of the war was that it brought full employment, sending so much more money into circulation and giving families previously tied to low-rent areas by sheer poverty a choice in their way of living. Those who aspired to better standards of residence, of society, went after the conditions they sought; and in their going the working class lost much of its real leadership, those who despite the hardships and discouragements of the past, always strove to preserve personal and family values, sought to give their children a better start than they had had themselves, and yet found occasion for concern for the affairs of their neighbourhood

in numerous socially responsible acts. The process continues, accelerated by such selective policies as the "11-plus." Those who found nothing deficient in their physical and social surroundings stayed, and spent their extra income in having a good time.

At the extreme of this group are the problem families, but further up the scale there are deficiencies in family norms which appear to contribute to this social immaturity of young offenders. There is little pressure on the child to acquire skills or develop aspirations to make something of himself. His discipline is determined more by parental mood and convenience than by reference to a social ethic. He is not expected to display (nor does he witness) application in pursuit of distant goals; there is scanty emphasis on the postponement of immediate wants in favour of later and better objectives. He has been accustomed to fairly indulgent attention to his physical demands, when it has been easier to placate him than put up with his crying, and easier to let him rampage around than undertake the patient task of inculcating habits of order and regularity. Generally he has been less aware of pattern and control in his growing up, nor has he had occasion to suppose that there is anything more to growing up than "just growing." Girls may be involved in the domestic tasks of the household and, in their play or in helping with younger children, be reminded of their eventual role of wives and mothers; but many parents seem to go out of their way to ensure that the boy has a leisure completely free of task or responsibility (unless it be a job for money). He has considerable freedom to mix with companions of his own choice, and to roam about unpursued by parental admonition or expectation. Homework, constructive hobbies, organised games, are not held before him as desirable in the same way as these may be presented to the grammar school boy, and he is more likely to spend his leisure in the company of others like himself at the cinema, billiard hall, ice cream parlour, dance-hall or street corner.

These three circumstances—area and climate of local opinion; type of family and parental attitude; dependence on the peer group—appear significant in a very large number of cases, and a consistent feature is the lack of emphasis on the need for the individual to become self-reliant, self-controlled, purposeful. Living for the

moment, in a narrow plane of physical sensation and "animal" affinity, it is possible for the children to remain impervious to constructive influences of school and social institution; indeed, it is a feature of such areas that one finds a marked antipathy amongst youngsters to what might be regarded as moderate, rational, respectable behaviour. They (and their parents) resent the extra year at school and the teachers who have been trying to mould them to a pattern of aspiration and application which is alien to the life they understand and requires disciplines in which they have not been reared. They tend to be unclubbable, their dislike of organisation and control overcoming their undoubted preference for social activity. The gang—not necessarily delinquent—is their ideal, with its fluid membership, *ad hoc* activity, warmth of in-group identification.

It is unfortunate that this gang life can largely satisfy their need for identification, approval and emotional stimulus, for it tends to keep them at an immature level. Less self-aware, they are less open to discontent at lack of personal achievement and the more gauche and inadequate individually in larger society; this reinforces their dependence and strengthens in-group feeling, especially since the adolescent gang is an unwelcome group amongst adults. The group itself needs prestige but, with its individual members lacking in skills, application and even in knowledge of the avenues of self-expression, may seek significance in a set of contra standards. The arrogance of the Teddy boy—hair short and sprouting at the front, long elsewhere, in contrast to the traditional "short back and sides," his long jacket and short, tight trousers, his over-large shoes—seems to spring from his awareness of having chosen an opposite standard, opposite to the older people of his group as well as to broad society; some of his susceptibility to crazes may also stem from this need to be different, though also a sign of immaturity. Mere sartorial display of apartness is harmless, but there remains the need for action and too often they must seek this in destructive, violent acts—there is less competition in this sphere. Their violence is usually restricted to their own kind, fights with representatives of gangs from neighbouring streets perhaps (loyalties are very narrow), but they commit public nuisance in their sometimes acquisitive, sometimes prowess-seeking acts

against property, ranging from senseless destruction in parks, bus shelters, public conveniences and the like, to breaking-in offences, stealing cars and so on. However, these latter comments relate to the extreme of these gang activities, involving the cruder elements one could always find in society; the disturbing feature is that nowadays they seem to command prestige among the relatively inoffensive groups of young people, reducing the restraints which otherwise operate. But in all these groups a common feature is this random and aimless use of leisure out of which impulsive acts of lawbreaking so easily spring.

In determining an approach to the type of delinquent here described it would seem necessary to consider the socialising process as a specific and to study comparisons between what have been assumed the normal experiences of the "average" individual from childhood to maturity, the changes in social and family patterns which have modified these and the upbringing of the children of sub-cultures. The suggestion of this paper is that this type of lad is responding to social and cultural influences and is not disturbed in the psychiatric sense—is indeed quite well adapted to his normal environment—and this common source of the antipathy of his kind to the norms of the larger society offers possibility of a technique of treatment enabling an advance on a broad front, with individual casework, group and community policies, concentrating on this distinct type of offender.

The offenders at the upper end of the scale in this class present good material on which to work. They can be spontaneously generous and loyal within the group, have a sense of the group norm and seek to preserve it, they have a strong social urge, are capable of direct and unconditional friendships, are not individualistic, have not learned to dissemble in their dealings with one another, and have little thought of the hierarchy of status which so concerns other sections of the public. Their principal difficulty is the narrowness of their identification, and their main need a form of social training, linked to a general enlargement of their mental horizons and means of self-expression. They have a vague awareness of their position in the pyramid of society—at the base! In their points of contact with broader society they feel conscious of their deficiencies in

terms of education, speech, social contacts, personability, etc.; if instead these experiences were made to contain reassurances that the qualities which matter most in a healthy society are those amiable features which promote friendship, co-operation, trust, good neighbourliness, etc., they would feel less at a disadvantage and might find incentive to venture out of their tight little groups.

These arguments have been advanced to attract attention to a neglected field of study; it would be wrong, at this stage, to anticipate conclusions. But this is a situation in which practice has perhaps been in advance of theory, and trial and error methods have shaped certain approaches to the problem. Thus social workers concerned with the offender in his environment can provide helpful opinions; of the several concerned the probation officer is perhaps best acquainted with the total situation and with a Departmental Committee examining the work of the Probation Service much significant material may soon be to hand.

CURRENT SURVEY

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

CURRENT RESEARCH LXX

(Continued from B.J.D., Vol. X, p. 295.)

PENAL TRAINING AND RECONVICTION

(1) *Name of university department, hospital, or other institution or private person supplying the information:* Department of Psychology, University College, London.

(2) *Subject of research:* A study of (a) comparative "success" of three types of penal training provided for boys aged sixteen to twenty, and (b) factors related to reconviction subsequent to such training.

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out:* The Ford Foundation. *Research workers:* Rodney Maliphant, Rosalind Wilkinson, Philip Sealy and John Freeman from University College; H. D. Willcock and interviewers from Government Social Survey. Under the direction of Charlotte Banks and Leslie Wilkins (Consultant: Kenneth M. Miller).

(4) *Commenced:* October 1958. *Completion expected:* October 1961.

(5) *Publications:* (No results so far published.)

General outline of the research: The main aims of the research are:

- (i) to determine the differential effects on reconviction of differing lengths of sentence, and of residence in Borstal, Detention Centre and Young Prisoners' Centres;
- (ii) to ascertain what factors in the lad, in his history and in his environment, and what combinations of these factors, are associated with reconviction or "failure."

Plan of research: Broadly speaking, the plan is to select, randomly, equal numbers (about 300) of lads committed to each type of institution; to test and interview each as soon as possible after committal; to interview his mother (or mother substitute), if available, and then to follow his subsequent career with the aid of the files in the Criminal Records Office. Finally, at varying periods after the lads' discharge, the data will be combined with the aid of factor analysis and multiple regression analysis, to determine which combinations of variables are most closely associated with reconviction. The effectiveness of the different types of institutional training and differing lengths of sentence will be investigated by multivariable discriminant analysis.

The field work: This consists of intensive interviews with the boys and their mothers. The boys are interviewed, as far as is possible, during the

first three weeks after they have been sentenced. Borstal boys and young prisoners are seen at the classifying centre at Wormwood Scrubs before they go on to training institutions, and the third group (or detention centre boys) at the Detention Centre, Goudhurst. Each boy is asked for permission to interview him and his mother, and the home is visited as soon as possible after the boy has been seen.

The boys are given psychological tests and a long-standardised interview, some of which is strictly comparable with part of the home interview. This enables us to compare the information obtained independently from the two sources. The information we are seeking in the interviews is based largely on past work, on the results of a pre-pilot follow-up of Borstal boys covering eight years, and on a pilot investigation. This information can be classified under the following headings:

I. *Environmental conditions*

A. The home:

- (a) material conditions;
- (b) mental and physical health of parents and siblings, and their criminal history;
- (c) family composition;
- (d) family relationships;
- (e) discipline;
- (f) mobility;

B. Outside the home:

- (a) friends and girl friends;
- (b) school;
- (c) work;
- (d) leisure activities.

II. *The boy*

- (a) physical and developmental history;
- (b) cognitive abilities and educational attainments;
- (c) emotional characteristics:
 - (i) neurotic and nervous symptoms;
 - (ii) temperament and traits of character;
- (d) offences past and present;
- (e) criminal knowledge and experience.

In addition, we are modifying Dr. D. Grant's interviewing schedule for use with an English sample in an attempt to assess "inter-personal maturity," and we are including a number of tests of attitudes to the victim, to authority and to penal training. Our final choice of techniques is based on the results of a pilot investigation, with sixty boys, which includes detailed clinical assessments of the results of the interviews.

DR. CHARLOTTE BANKS
University College, London.

CURRENT RESEARCH LXXI

A COMPARISON OF ARRESTED AND UNARRESTED ALCOHOLICS

(1) *Name of university department*: School of Social Studies, University of Leicester.

(2) *Subject of research*: A comparison of arrested and unarrested alcoholics.

The early stages of this research have already been completed. Thirty-six arrested alcoholics and thirty-six alcoholics in clinical treatment have been studied intensively by means of interviews, to try to trace the development and cause of their alcoholic illness in relation to their family and social experience and their development in other respects. The data thus collected are to be examined for (*inter alia*) any light they may throw upon differences in the developmental histories of the arrested group as compared with the rest. The main hypothesis to be tested is that while the clinical group tend to be dependent on, and dominated by, their wives (and previously by their mothers), the arrested group, as a result of their early maternal experience, have difficulty in relating to women in adult life. As a result the former maintain a stable family life, keep their jobs and present themselves for treatment, while the latter become rootless wanderers. It is hoped that this small-scale study will provide suggestions for testing on a larger sample.

(3) *Auspices*: Harry M. Cassidy Memorial Research Fund, University of Toronto. Directed by Dr. Howard Jones.

(4) *Commenced*: January 1959. *Completion expected*: 1960.

(5) *Publication*: Interim publication: "Alcohol and Corrections" Howard Jones, *Canadian Journal of Corrections*, Vol. I, 5, 1959, pp. 29-33.

RESEARCH ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN FRANCE *

H. MICHARD ¹

A. *Introductory Note: Offences Against the Person*

It appears that the interest in the number of offences against the person committed by minors under the age of eighteen in France is to a great extent connected with road accidents.

According to police statistics, the total of offences against the person was distributed as follows:

758 offences by boys in 1951	} 863
105 offences by girls in 1951	
1,450 offences by boys in 1958	} 1,600
150 offences by girls in 1958	

* Translated from the French by Marianne Rodker.

¹ Director, Centre de Formation et d'Études, Ministère de la Justice, Direction de l'Éducation Surveillée, Vaucresson.

This is a striking difference; its interpretation, however, can easily be misleading. In fact, the total includes:

1951: 231 cases of manslaughter and wounding without intent by boys	}	257
26 cases of manslaughter and wounding without intent by girls		
1958: 737 cases of manslaughter and wounding without intent by boys	}	820
83 cases of manslaughter and wounding without intent by girls		

It is obvious that, while the proportion of offences without intent represented 29 per cent. of the total number of offences against the person in 1951, it went up to over 50 per cent. in 1958.

The increase in the number of offences with intent committed by boys is, in itself, of small consequence: 186 between 1951 and 1958. These offences have even decreased where girls are concerned: in 1958, the number dropped by twelve.

B. The Research Scheme

I. General approach and organisation

As early as 1946, the *Direction de l'Éducation Surveillée* (supervised education) decided to organise a systematic survey of the factors influencing juvenile delinquency and to establish the fundamental criteria on the basis of which a preventive policy could be established. Through lack of the necessary funds this project could not then be carried out: it was only in 1958 that the Vaucresson Centre was actually able to begin work along these lines.

From the onset, the main features of the survey appeared to be as follows:

1. *It is multi-disciplined*, teaming biologists, physicians, sociologists, psychologists, psychiatrists and lawyers.
2. *It is a survey which requires statistical handling of data by machines.*
3. *It is a long-term survey*, as it is difficult to select the material of investigation, and also as the study of approximately 5,000 cases is required, from which it is hoped to draw accurate conclusions.

In view of this, the survey was planned in three stages: first, working out a method of selecting research data; second, experimental studies; third, the definitive survey.

II. The selection of material: March 1958–October 1959

Commissions and working teams studied the question from an etiological point of view and prepared index cards showing sociological, psychological and medical data.

This was achieved after fifteen meetings, attended by more than twenty-five technicians and experts from the University, the National Centre for Scientific Research and the *Institutions et Services Nationaux d'Études et d'Enquêtes* (National Institutions and Services for Studies and Surveys). Furthermore, consulting technicians from the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies, the National Institute for Vocational Guidance and the Institute of Psychology helped in the planning of investigation methods.

A schedule of etiological data was then devised: it will eventually be coded for statistical elaboration. Each commission is supplied with a card bearing eighty columns. The schedule of the indexed items was prepared in the light of the various disciplines involved (judicial, sociological, psychological, psychiatric, medical) and consists mainly of closed and pre-coded questions. A small number of open questions which require free coding, *a posteriori*, have, however, been included.

The selective choices imposed by the coding technique take into account the experience acquired in the course of previous etiological studies, in particular the contributions, which should not be minimised, represented by studies in personality carried out at observation and consultation centres and by milieu observation services.

The various headings, as a whole, represent a methodological and multi-disciplined approach: they were, from the onset, devised so that each one can be seen in the light of all the others.

The selection of the population for sampling purposes was carried out statistically: the range of the population to be tested was gauged in terms of the requirements of a significant statistical analysis: it was estimated that 550 files would be required in order to test the accuracy (*sensibilité*) of the cards.

The organisation of the survey was carried out in conjunction with thirteen children's courts and their auxiliary services. These experimentation centres were selected so as to supply a representative sampling of the French population at large: they include the children's courts of Paris, Marseilles, Lyons, Strasbourg, Orléans, Dijon, Besançon, Chalon-sur-Saône, Nancy, Bordeaux, Nantes, Rouen and Albi. These experimental centres were visited and supplied with the requisite material for the investigation.

III. Second stage : October 1959-January 1961

At each experimental centre, the Bench (*juges des enfants, substituts des mineurs, juges d'instruction spécialisés dans les questions de mineurs*, children's judges, deputy public prosecutors for juveniles, examining magistrates specialised in juvenile work) takes an active part in the survey. Psychological and medical investigations are carried out in the departmental centres or services attached to the court. A field worker (*assistante sociale*) is appointed to interview the research workers and physicians who have been investigating the cases, and then to complete the coding of the cards.

This experimental stage is only concerned with male French juvenile delinquents who have turned fourteen at the time of the offence. Such offenders are listed by the *Parquet* (Bench) of each of the experimental courts, according to the chronological order of the proceedings. They are designated, according to the requirements of the investigation, following a pre-selected system of sampling. The numbers vary in accordance with the number of cases handled by the courts. Random sampling is thus respected, which guarantees an objective representation of the population under study.

Delegates of the sociological, psychological and medical commissions visit the various experimental centres regularly; they check the progress of the survey and, if necessary, deal with the specific difficulties which the local workers may have to face. Including all research workers, the approximate number of those connected with this survey is 500; 250 of these devote the major part of their time to it.

At the Vaucresson *Centre de Formation et d'Études de l'Éducation Surveillée* (training and studies in supervised education), approximately ten workers: the director of the centre, the administrator of the studies and research section, a statistician, research assistants, a "documentalist," secretaries, typists, mechanographers.

Members of the scientific committee: approximately forty specialists: judges and magistrates, criminologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, the Director of the *Centre de Recherches de l'Institut National d'Études du Travail et d'Orientation Professionnelle* (Research Centre of the National Institute for Work Studies and Vocational Guidance), Professors at the Sorbonne, research directors from the National Centre for Scientific Research, economists, town-planners, sociologists, demographers, assistants to the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Affairs, statisticians, educationalists, etc.

In each of these thirteen experimental centres: an administrator who directs the survey; the Bench—children's judges, *juges d'instruction chargés des affaires de mineurs* (examining magistrates specialised in juvenile work); research social workers (about fifty for the departmental centre of the Seine alone); a number of psychologists and assistant psychologists; a number of physicians and psychiatrists.

This experimental stage aims at perfecting the questionnaires for the final survey: the statistical interpretation of data will eventually extract the significant items.

IV. *Third stage*

The final survey will be carried out over a period of several years, and will be concerned with all categories of minors appearing in children's courts, without distinction of age, sex or nationality. It can already be foreseen that, in order to get 5,000 cases within a period of five to six years, the number of experimental centres will have to be increased to approximately twenty.

NOTES

CRIME IN NORTHERN RHODESIA *

W. CLIFFORD

NORTHERN Rhodesia is one of the three territories which constitute the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In many ways the country is more interesting for the study of social change and crime in a multi-racial society than either Nyasaland, which has fewer European settlers, or Southern Rhodesia, with its larger and longer established white settlement.

In Northern Rhodesia both the African and the European sections of the population have been very mobile until recent years, migration being particularly sensitive to economic change. Since 1911 the population has grown as follows:

Census date	European	Asiatic	Coloured	African (estimated)
7. 5 .11	1,497	39	—	820,000
3. 5 .21	3,634	56	145	980,000
5. 5 .31	13,846	176	425	1,330,000
15.10.46	21,907	1,117	804	1,660,000
8. 5 .51	37,221	2,529	1,092	1,890,000
8. 5 .56	64,810	5,400	1,550	2,100,000

Thus the Africans outnumber the Europeans 33 to 1, the white population has increased to thirty times its size in 1911 and the Africans have nearly three times the numbers they had in 1911. In the rural areas the Africans live in remote villages governed by their chiefs, their native authorities and their traditional native courts are recognised. In the towns, modern in European buildings and houses, the Africans live in locations or mine compounds with their families. There are also a few entirely African townships.

The dependence of Northern Rhodesia on its mineral exports, especially copper, is shown by the fact that no less than 90 per cent. of all exports are minerals. Not only does the Copperbelt employ most of the people but the secondary industries and many of the farmers rely upon the markets provided by those earning their living from copper or engaged in commerce in towns along the line of rail.

Incidence of Crime

For the purpose of this Note, it was possible to trace the Northern Rhodesia Police Reports back to 1932, the year in which the civil police were finally

* Since this Note was written, a substantial Report on the subject by Mr. Clifford, Director of Social Welfare for Northern Rhodesia, has been published by The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in Lusaka (1960), which will in due course be reviewed in this Journal. (Ed.)

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separated from the military. African Affairs Reports were traced back to 1931 and the Prison Reports to 1935. At the time of writing the most recent reports were in respect of the year 1957. Over this period of roughly a quarter of a century, however, the comparison of the reports is vitiated to some extent by the changes which have taken place. Not only have the various services developed and their reports become more sophisticated, but the administrative boundaries have been altered and no separate reports have been issued by the Prison Service since it became a Federal organisation in 1953. One can get but a rough idea therefore of the incidence of crime.

The Police Report for 1932 showed that 10,510 cases had been dealt with as a result of which there were 9,932 convictions. According to a comparative table provided by the report this was nearly double the amount of work which had accrued to the police in 1928 :

Year	Dealt with	Convicted	Common law		Statute law	
			Euro-peans	Africans	Euro-peans	Africans
1928	5,414	5,066	78	1,259	386	3,253
1929	4,889	4,597	89	1,253	459	3,088
1930	4,987	4,537	133	1,361	503	2,770
1931	8,645	8,052	199	1,861	838	5,747
1932	10,510	9,923	201	2,456	957	6,896

If nearly 35,000 reported traffic offences be disregarded, a comparable table for 1957 would be :

Year	Dealt with	Persons convicted	Penal Code				Other laws			
			Europeans	Asiatics	Coloured	Africans	Europeans	Asiatics	Coloured	Africans
1957	57,831	28,501	344	10	16	8,324	377	38	27	19,365

Naturally this threefold increase in convictions has to be assessed against the rapidly increasing population. In the same twenty-five years or so the number of Europeans in the country increased by something like 500 per cent. and the Africans were estimated to have grown in numbers by one-third. We therefore have a total population increase of rather less than 30 per cent. during a period when crimes reported to the police had multiplied by six. But the number of persons convicted over these years had risen more or less proportionately to the growth of population.

Confirmation of a crime increase roughly related to the increments of population is provided by the "Blue Book," a government statistical abstract which was published between 1935 and 1948 and which includes an analysis

of the court proceedings actually instituted by the police or by administrative officers. In this thirteen-year span the population had increased by approximately 25 per cent. whilst the number of court proceedings for crime had gone up by 30 per cent., *i.e.*, excluding very minor offences like non-payment of native tax, offences against beer or liquor ordinances, etc.

Similarly, from the Northern Rhodesian Prison Reports which were available for the years 1935-53, it does not appear that there has been any alarming rise in the sentences of imprisonment. In 1935, 7,168 persons were committed to prison and between 1951 and 1953 this figure fluctuated between 9,000 and 10,000. Taking into account the probability of the same person being committed more than once in any one year and other committals in default of payment of fine, it will be seen that these figures again are not out of line with the rise of population.

Finally when one considers the African Affairs Reports dealing with the native courts it is also clear that for the period when detail is available (1947-57) the figures for crime of a minor nature dealt with by these courts is not disproportionate to the great increases in population over these years.

Clearly these are nothing but approximations and first approximations at that; but there seems to be sufficient in these official reports to justify an opinion that crime in Northern Rhodesia since the thirties has not been increasing in the absolute sense. This tentative conclusion now needs checking and investigating.

EFFECTS OF IMPRISONMENT

A. J. W. TAYLOR *

IMPRISONMENT does all things to all men. Some emerge the more fitted to play their individual and collective roles in society; others appear embittered, apathetic or unaffected by their prison experiences. If the primary purpose of imprisonment is to turn "out of prison better men and women physically and morally than when they came in" it is important to study the effects of imprisonment. The "effects" can be short-term or long-term. The short-term response to imprisonment while serving sentence may or may not be related to long-term response on release. In some cases, among the aggressive "king-pins" of Borstal, the reaction to confinement is marked, culminating in vicious assaults and daring escapes, but of five Borstal youths transferred to one prison during the period 1954-58 and subsequently released none has been reconvicted. Of other inmates it can truly be said that the good prisoner makes a poor citizen—their short-term responses are good, but their long-term responses are poor.

* Psychologist, Justice Department, New Zealand.

The three main factors involved with imprisonment are the prison, the staff and the inmates. Each of these headings covers a wide variety of related factors that in their turn exert some influence upon the prisoner. Prisons are classified by the type of security, training and treatment that they provide, together with the degree of physical discomfort, geographical location and accessibility for visitors, and educational facilities provided. The staff may be custodial or progressive or an acceptable combination of both, sharing the social workers' concern when they have failed rather than to shrug off responsibility with the comment "He will be back." Inmates establish their own social structure, but play a descant with their individual problems. The social structure varies according to the kind of offences that were committed, and the length of sentence being served, the amount of time already spent in prison, and the kind of employment followed outside or inside prison. The safe blowers or "tank men" rank high in the scale of social status, with the professional men or embezzlers quite close. The burglars, "muscle men," car converters and thieves are close to each other, with the "sexo's" in a distinct out-group. The lifer's status is somewhat similar to that of the man serving preventive detention, but they protect themselves from the pain of broken friendships by keeping away from short-sentence men. The man who has "done a lot of time" is assured of respect because he can recall incidents of prison life that parallel the political or social recollections of people outside, and he tends to enjoy easy relationships with the staff because his criminal career ran parallel to their careers in the prison service. The men on "staff jobs" in prison with clerical responsibilities in the library, canteen, store and personal service frequently regard themselves as being slightly superior to other inmates with less responsibility and less access to the staff.

Individuals bring their own problems with them to prison. Some, like Alexander and Staub's¹ "normal criminal" accept their lot with no bother. Others try to put their problems into deep freeze until they come out, others find the sequence of investigations, court appearance, remand, sentence altogether too devastating and they crumble under the combined weight of their guilt and the sentence of the court. Roper's² "period of mourning" as a description of initial adjustment to prison, is displayed by some offenders, and it is a time in which they come to grips with themselves concerning the moral and legal issues involved in their cases as they cast around frantically in search of scraps of self respect. Others have no feelings of guilt, but for a variety of reasons from loneliness to mental disorder, caring not for themselves, care not for others. Prison can also be as much a psychological shelter for the anxiety ridden individual as it is a physical shelter for the

¹ Alexander & Staub, *The Criminal, the Judge and the Public : a Psychological Analysis*, The Macmillan Co., New York.

² Roper, W. F., *The Effects of Detention upon the Prisoners* (1954), Commonwealth Assoc. Prisoners' Aid Society, London.

"metho" and vagrant in winter. The anxiety state may be of recent origin or it may be a long-standing personality problem. Some inmates become institutionalised, like the recidivist who said:

"Your punishment does not start in prison: it starts when you get out. You feel like a stranger in a strange world—you are dazed and confused. Prison is home to me, everyone knows about me and I have nothing to fear."

In addition to the factors that have been mentioned briefly so far are those generalised feelings that make up the mood of a prison. These feelings are of dependence, unworthiness, boredom, despair, futility and apathy. Many of these feelings are crystallised by the following quotation on the notice-board in Wellington Prison:

"My purse, my person, my extremest means lie all unlock'd to your occasions . . ."

Merchant of Venice, Act 1, Sc. 1.

Inmates spend much of their days waiting by grilles, waiting for visits and fretting for letters. The enforced dependence on other people and the inability to take an active role in one's personal affairs was thought by the writer to be an explanation for feelings of sterility that some inmates mentioned to him. The majority of prisoners are waiting for their release, but the problem is accentuated for those who are serving indeterminate sentences. Their cases are reviewed frequently. The feeling that heralds the arrival of the Parole Board is so pronounced as to be termed "Parole Board Blues." The indeterminate sentence in practice appears to have little psychological value, but periodically it stimulates the hopes of men for early release, only to give "knock backs" or deferments. The inmate on a fixed sentence can work for maximum remission and he can plan his sentence and plan his life accordingly.

Feelings of unworthiness are common to many prisoners. Occasionally one hears an inmate revive the theory of the inheritance of acquired characteristics, and others so held the stigma against the criminal before they were involved themselves that they feel it still applies. However, where the unworthiness arises from a proper self-evaluation the prisoner has few opportunities to build himself up again. There is a reward and privilege system in prison, but they give insufficient recognition to the inmate who is striving to gain acceptance and self respect. Inmates have occasionally been called out in emergency gangs to fight fires and help with flood rescue, and the feelings of worthiness that they derived led to buoyancy and a quicker pulse of life around institutions. The negative feelings of unworthiness in one prison were all channelled into netmaking for a University Deep Sea Research Project, and they could be utilised in a positive way by similar projects such as toymaking for hospitals, nurseries, orphanages.

Boredom, despair, futility and apathy are common feelings among prisoners. They are aware themselves of the symptoms of withdrawal from life and in New Zealand prisoners use the term "boob happy" to describe this clinical state. The writer has been approached by inmates who feel that they are becoming dull automatons with their emotional sensitivity blunted and their cognitive efficiency impaired by imprisonment. One recent admission described his fellow prisoners as "grey faces with grey suits in a grey world" and he took every opportunity of attending meetings conducted by outside speakers and of playing games with visiting teams "to see the sparkle in the eyes of citizens, because they live." If the withdrawal persists and intensifies it leads to personality deterioration that indicates a wastage of human material which, although an unintended by-product of a reformatory policy, could be compared with the consequence of imprisonment when retribution was the paramount theme in penal treatment.

In all the literature about men in captivity one of the constantly recurring themes is that of personality deterioration. Fox says "It is the fight against the physical and mental deterioration almost inseparable from a long prison sentence that is the hardest part of the duty laid on the prison authorities."³ Grünhut says that most prisoners suffer from a mental vacuity, and that this is reflected in a dwindling memory, inability to concentrate, a strange obliviousness and a tendency to illusions and self deception.⁴ The Royal Commission on Capital Punishment⁵ was also concerned with evidence relating to deterioration and it seems clear that there is no experimental backing to support any of the widely different opinions that were given. Prisoners⁶ writing of their own experience, refer to "prison rot . . . mental inertia and inability to concentrate . . . being no longer capable of fending for themselves" and "living in the organic sense."

Further information came to hand during the First and Second World Wars and the Korean War when, as a result of political or military activities, many people of many nations found themselves captive in prisoner of war camps, internment camps, concentration camps and camps for conscientious objectors.⁷ One cannot assume that equal physical and psychological conditions obtained in different places of confinement, but nevertheless there appears to be a common syndrome of apathy, emotional flatness and loss of initiative in all situations. Captives and detainees recognise the syndrome and describe it in terms of "kriegie," "rice brain," "zombie," "flax happy," "stir crazy" and "barbed wire fever." Vischer⁸ described the mental syndrome of the internee as "barbed wire disease or metapsychoses"—the

³ Fox, L., *The Modern English Prison* (1934), Routledge, London.

⁴ Grünhut, M., *Penal Reform: A Comparative Study* (1948), Oxford University Press.

⁵ Royal Commission on Capital Punishment 1949-53. *Report*, Cmd. 8932. H.M.S.O.

⁶ Heckstall-Smith, A., *Eighteen Months* (1954), Wingate, London.

⁷ See references in Taylor, A. J. W., "Personality Deterioration and Imprisonment": 1957 Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Victoria Univ.

⁸ Vischer, A. L., "Report on 'Barbed Wire Disease,'" *Lancet*, July 12, 1919.

main contributing causes of which were uncertainty of the future, loss of privacy, nostalgia and the "constant menacing mockery of the barbed wire entanglements." Newman⁹ compared the general reaction of prisoners of war to Caissons disease—the depressed and inadequate reaction leading to chronic apathy, loss of initiative, morale and personal drive that men make to normal situations after spending periods working below water in caissons. After eighteen months in solitary confinement as a suspected spy in France Burney wrote: "I soon learned that variety is not the spice but the very stuff of life. We need the constant ebb and flow of wavelets of sensation, thought, perception, action and emotion, lapping on the shore of consciousness, now here now there, keeping even our isolation in the ocean of reality, so that we neither encroach nor are encroached upon . . . whatever we are, we have our shape and preserve it best in the experience of many things."¹⁰

In fact many people overcome the deadening effects of imprisonment by manufacturing stimulating experiences. In order to overcome his sinking morale General Dean¹¹ worked simple algebra and arithmetical problems in his head. Lermolo¹² taught herself a "psychological defence system" that consisted of developing an attitude of complete detachment and simulating the feeling of being a tourist and then of filling the waking hours with self-imposed tasks of pacing the cell, counting and memorising prayers and poems, dates and names. Bone used similar techniques to build up her resistance to seven years solitary confinement in Hungary.¹³

Deterioration in prisoners might be linked with the hitherto unrelated factor of perceptual isolation. Scott's¹⁴ work at McGill showed conclusively that perceptual isolation produces behaviour deterioration of a kind that is identical with the symptoms that we have listed above. A similar lowered test performance and motivational attenuation in prison subjects may well result from the same variable. Perceptual isolation would be an even more important variable if it were linked also with the loss of ambition and normal motivation that is noted in some discharged prisoners.

Scott took elaborate precautions with an experimental group to reduce the variation of sensory environment. In the cognitive sphere he found significant differences between the results of test batteries taken before and after extreme isolation. His subjects also complained of being unable to perform familiar tasks, of being unable to concentrate on matters that were important to them, of being confused, and lacking direction and drive. Scott gave the name "habituation syndrome" to this clinical picture.

⁹ Newman, P. H., "The Prisoner of War Mentality," *Brit.Med.J.*, 1944, pp. 8-10.

¹⁰ Burney, C., *Solitary Confinement* (1952), Clerke & Cockeran, London.

¹¹ Worden, Wm., *General Dean's Story of his three years' Captivity in North Korea* (1954), Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London.

¹² Lermolo, E., *Face of a Victim* (1958), Harper Bros., New York.

¹³ Bone, E., *Seven Years' Solitary* (1957), Hamish Hamilton, London.

¹⁴ Scott, T. H., "A Study in Perceptual Isolation," unpublished Ph.D. thesis (1957), McGill Univ.

The apparent consequences of confinement fit into three categories:

- (1) changes due to initial adjustment to prison life;
- (2) changes due to losing touch with the outside world;
- (3) changes due to deterioration.

These changes appear to be linked in progressive stages, and the longer a person is in prison the more likely is he to reach the third stage of deterioration. It is this third stage which is most serious; its symptoms are lack of interests, aims, ambitions, ideals, an emotional "flatness" and a lowered general efficiency. A person with these symptoms has insufficient resilience to meet the demands of everyday life, and is entirely dependent upon prison routines.

A VISIT TO THE U.S.S.R.

Some observations on a visit to an Educational Colony, a Labour Colony, and a Remand Home for young delinquents

HARRIETT WILSON

DURING a visit to the Soviet Union in May 1959 I had the opportunity of meeting a number of people engaged in work connected with juvenile delinquency. My contact in Moscow was with a member of the Lenin Paedagogical Institute, who is the author of several books on delinquency. In Leningrad I met the head of the faculty of criminal law at the university, and also one of his assistants who is a specialist on juvenile crime. A civil servant, responsible for the administration of penal institutions for juveniles in the Leningrad region, accompanied me on visits to educational and labour colonies and a remand home.

Language difficulties and the absence of official statistics prevent me from writing a detailed report, and I must confine myself to an account based primarily on my own observations and impressions.

The willingness of the Ministry for Interior Affairs to let me see some of their penal institutions was not only entirely unexpected, but seems the more remarkable since officially juvenile delinquency does not exist. Indeed, in my initial conversations in which I was acquainted with Marxist theory on the subject it was pointed out that crime is a by-product of a decadent capitalist society, that by a new system of education and reorganisation of the economic structure it was bound to disappear, and that in fact crime had decreased enormously since the Revolution and was now confined to an insignificant fraction of the population. It was only after I had produced the recent White Paper on Penal Practice in a Changing Society (Cmd. 645, H.M.S.O.) and shown the Russians the crime curves over the last twenty

years for various age groups in Britain that the Russians admitted that they, too, had a new problem to face: the preponderance of the age group born in the late thirties and early forties. How great this problem is in the U.S.S.R. was impossible for me to gauge, and I suspect that my Russian informants themselves cannot gauge it as statistics are not available to them. They use the word "hooliganism" in Russian to describe this new phenomenon, and the explanation is widely accepted that it is linked with too much money and alcohol. But this, as far as I could gather, is not based on any systematic sociological investigations. No information concerning the home background of hooligans was available, neither could my questions concerning geographical distribution of crime in Moscow be answered. This is not surprising in a theoretically classless society, but in fact there is some evidence of an emerging social stratification which may have some bearing on the crime problem. Indeed, the unofficial explanation given to me by several people, that there are too many young people nowadays who need not work because their parents can afford to keep them, already contains an admission of the effect of differential incomes on the young generation. Incomes vary from 700 or so roubles per month for the unskilled labourer to 5,000 roubles for the university professor or equivalent professional man, and incomes of academicians, popular artists, high-rank politicians and so on are in the region of 20,000 roubles per month. (The tourist exchange rate is somewhere in the region of 30 roubles to the pound.) The wife of the more highly paid man is not forced to work, but in the lower income ranges a double income is an economic necessity. The children of parents who are both out at work all day spend their afternoons in Young Pioneer or Komsomol activities or in various organisations catering for out-of-school activities. School lessons are confined mostly to the mornings, although there are still schools in Moscow working on a double shift because of lack of space. One of my interpreters, the daughter of a diplomatist, told me proudly that she did not need to attend any of these institutions when young as she had a good home.

The geographical concentration of income groups, although by no means as marked as in Western Europe, was to some extent evident. A member of Leningrad University on a sightseeing tour described one district as working class; it contained many factories. In Moscow there appears to be a concentration of intellectuals, for obvious reasons, around the huge new university in a recently developed southern district. My impressions of social stratification were further strengthened on being taken out to a residential district some thirty-five miles west of Moscow where the élite live. We were told that none of the houses there cost less than 200,000 roubles, and the houses of Mikoyan, of the widow of Litvinov, of a famous surgeon, and of some artists and writers were pointed out to me.

Since schools are comprehensive and there are no special schools for educationally retarded children there is some ground for believing that the

schools in districts with a relatively high percentage of intellectuals—to use the Russian term for the university-trained person as distinguished from the worker and the peasant—do better work; assuming that in the Soviet Union, as in the U.S. and U.K., the IQ of children is correlated with parental occupation.

In spite of these developments the doctrine of the eventual disappearance of crime in the new classless society is still current. Crime is seen entirely as a societal problem, and the medico-clinical angle is absent. I discussed with a group of workers from the faculty of law of Leningrad University the concept of maternal deprivation and various psychiatric interpretations of certain types of delinquency, and the response I got was slightly incredulous smiles and the comment that possibly my society produced neurotic delinquents but certainly not theirs.

The assumption that every criminal is a potentially decent person, who through some omission on the side of his parents or the wider society has not fully developed his social sense, is put into practice in the treatment of young offenders. Emphasis here is on the development of a group consciousness, and the method by which this is induced is via the group. Both the educational and the labour colonies are organised somewhat on a public-school house system, which is the effective therapeutic unit. Both institutions cater for boys aged fourteen to eighteen. Educational colonies contain boys who have committed minor offences and have appeared before a special committee of a local soviet, and labour colonies contain boys who have committed more serious offences and have been convicted by a court. The colonies are run on a part-school, part-factory basis; in the educational colonies the time spent daily in each is four hours, and in the labour colonies an extra two hours are worked in the factory. The boys are trained to reach the fifth grade of the official seven-grade apprenticeship system. The factories I saw produced tools and firehose couplings. There is also some opportunity for gardening, housebuilding and carpentry. The school curriculum is the normal Russian one and classes are provided up to matriculation standard. On observing that the lowest grade provided was that for the normal eleven-year-old boy, I was told that truancy played a major part in delinquency and that many boys had to be taught from scratch.

The boys wear a black uniform of soft material, the trousers gathered at the ankle with elastic. For special occasions they wear the normal Russian grey school uniform. Their heads are shorn, and this—coupled with the somewhat drab appearance of the buildings in which dark brown paint seemed to prevail—had a somewhat depressive effect. This impression was heightened by the fact that almost all the staff, including the governors, wore military uniforms. The labour colony was a former prison, the educational colony a former monastery. The dormitories are considerably overcrowded by our standards, one bedside table to two beds and no facilities for locking

up private possessions. The only decorations on the dark walls are a picture of Lenin, sometimes a red flag, or a picture of a soldier embracing wife and child on his departure. On the corridor walls there are innumerable slogans and inscriptions reminding the boys of their social duties and inspiring them with sentiments expressed by Lenin, Pushkin, etc. Wall-newspapers written by the various house groups are posted on each landing, showing the curves of achievements of each group in school work and factory output, and individual mistakes are criticised. Some contained cartoons depicting various social sins, such as smoking in bed (no smoking is allowed anywhere), sleeping on the school bench, appearing unwashed and untidy, and dreaming of a girl. The boy who was shown as committing the latter sin had a heart tattooed on his arm. I was told that the commission of these and other anti-social acts is discussed and criticised in the house group in the presence of staff. Often this is sufficient, but solitary confinement with reduced diet up to a maximum of five days is allowed in more severe cases. Corporal punishment is not allowed.

Negative sanctions are supplemented by a praise mechanism which, again, finds expression on the walls. Individual Stakhanovites have their names up; the highest marks at school and at sports are shown. A young university-trained Communist who is on the staff of the educational colony I visited and runs a branch of Komsomol accompanied us on our tour. The best boys are allowed to join the Komsomol. I was shown the "club house," a former monastic church, in which they have film shows, lectures and so on.

No club activities seem to exist in the labour colony. The general impression here was that of a punitive institution. The colony is a closed one guarded by armed soldiers in little turrets around the outer wall. The boys are not given leave, but parents may visit.

I was not able to get information on average length of stay in either colony, but I was told that it varied and that the period is reduced for good progress. Similarly, it was most difficult to form a picture of the type of offences committed by the inmates. There appear to be a number of "offences against the social order" such as indecent behaviour, obscene language, causing a nuisance in the streets or in public transport and so on which are severely punished. In my conversations with the Moscow criminologist I was given to understand that the major part of juvenile delinquency consisted of such offences. On the inspection tour I asked some boys what they had done and got the answers housebreaking, thieving, and a street fight. In the remand home which was also shown to me a girl had just been admitted who had been caught thieving. We found her locked into a small room together with another older girl, also a recent admission, and both were in tears. The latter girl had escaped from a labour colony.

This remand home, a cheerful place with white curtains, and good play-centre equipment, also functions as a reception centre for children in need

of care. My comments on the possible danger to the development of children admitted as in need of care—a good many of them were of pre-school age—when put together with delinquents were not understood. There seems to be less interest in the individual child's problems than in the production of a stereotype. This is facilitated by the general acceptance of a unified value system. The good citizen, the hard-working, law-abiding, faithful-to-death young Russian who respects authority, does as he is told and enjoys himself only if and when society permits, presents an educational problem of a much simpler order than our Western ideal type, the mature individual who is entrusted with making his own choices in a many-faceted society.

But in spite of these differences in outlook there are a number of aspects of the Russian approach that are interesting. I should like to mention shortly an experiment in forestalling or fighting hooliganism. Brigades of young volunteers patrol the streets in the evenings and break up hooligan gangs, again using criticism and the idea of the good precept. A system of "patronage" is developed in the colonies; groups of workers from a factory, actors from a theatre, or groups of artists adopt a specific institution, visit regularly and draw the boys into their own field of interest. The trade unions co-operate in recognising institutional training schemes thereby making the transition from colony to outside life a very much smoother one. The money earned by the boys in the colonies is saved and handed over on discharge. But the most inspiring aspect is the widespread belief that every child is a potentially good citizen and that all he lacked in childhood was the right kind of education. This, coupled with the faith in the ultimate disappearance of crime, seemed to have a contagious effect on the delinquent boys themselves and may be an explanation of their high success rate. Or should one wonder how they can talk of a high success rate when there are no criminal statistics?

In all my contacts I have experienced great friendliness and the desire for an exchange of information. I was allowed to take photographs in all institutions. My informants were most generous in the time they gave me, and I was deeply moved by the welcome I had in the two colonies, including large bunches of flowers at a time when the first tulips and narcissi were only just beginning to bloom in Leningrad's parks.

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL COURSE IN CRIMINOLOGY COPENHAGEN, OCTOBER 7-17, 1959

D. A. OGDEN

THIS course was sponsored by the International Society for Criminology and supported by the Danish Government. Direction was in the hands of Professor Stephan Hurwitz, Parliamentary Commissioner of Public Affairs, and Dr. Georg.

K. Stürup, Director of the Herstedvester Institutions. The major aim of the course was to consider the treatment of psycho-pathological criminals, but time was also allowed for the study of institutions for children and adolescents under the Danish system.

The course was held at the Domus Medica, seat of the Royal Danish Medical Society, to whom most grateful thanks are due for provision of such an ideal background for the spread of knowledge. The opening day contained addresses by Professor Hurwitz, M. Jean Pinatel, Secretary-General of the sponsoring society, Minister of Justice Hans Haekkerup, Director of Danish Prisons Mr. Hans Tetens, Professor Knud Waaben of Copenhagen University Institute of Criminal Science, and Dr. Stürup. The course got down to real business the following day, with a pattern which was followed throughout and included usually two or three formal addresses, separation for group discussion, and visit to an institution each day.

The procedure of feed-back from each group to the full sessions at the start of each day was adopted and this, with the whole aspect of group sessions, proved to be one of the most popular features of the course. The writer was appointed rapporteur to one group and found the whole experience most rewarding.

It became quickly apparent that the three groups were divergent in approach in many ways. For example, one group invariably discussed papers just presented in full session, another group selected its own talking points. A remarkably close corporate feeling developed during these group sessions, and since members ranged from all Europe, the Far East and America, and also varied from directors of departments to field workers, all points could be discussed from many varied aspects. It would be invidious to select individual papers read for comment, when all were of concern in different ways to members of the course with differing spheres of interest, but during the ten days the principle of handling psychopathic offenders under the Danish system was covered from many aspects by Dr. Stürup and three of his psychological staff, Mr. Hoech-Gradenwitz, Mr. Wulf Feldman and M. Asger Hansen, while Mrs. Karen Berntsen dealt with short-time prisoners. Mr. Lars Bolin from Sweden reminded us in a timely way of the staff problems in institutions, Dr. Donald Buckle gave us the wider view of punishment from a mental hygiene point of view, Dr. Jan Sachs described the introduction of Herstedvester methods into Horsens, Mr. Rafael reviewed the work in a state prison, and Mr. Paludan-Muller similarly described the workhouse system.

Dr. Stürup spoke to the course on several occasions, and, inevitably perhaps, his views on the treatment of sex offenders received greatest attention. This is not the place to discuss castration, and in view of the great divergence of opinion on this subject, Dr. Stürup is to be greatly congratulated on his presentation of the subject with its advantages and disadvantages, together

with his timely reminder that this is not the only aspect of treatment of sex offenders in Denmark.

The visits to various institutions were much appreciated by members of the course, and inevitably Herstedvester attracted most attention. With such a varied membership it was to be expected that opinions of methods used at this famous institution varied considerably but the writer feels certain that all members were vastly impressed by the tenacity, patience and devotion which Dr. Stürup and his colleagues have displayed in maintaining original standards long after the stimulus of pioneering has subsided.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM was held simultaneously with the course in a series of evening sessions, and provided a fascinating discussion on present trends in criminology. It is difficult to condense such discussions, but the writer viewed them as a battle between Professor Lopez-Rey (Chief of Social Defence U.N.) and M. Jean Pinatel, carried out in the greatest good humour and mutual admiration. Professor Lopez-Rey made the points that the rapid growth of crime in the highly developed countries showed that medico-psychological theories, social services and after-care are not in themselves curative, and that we should stop seeking criminogenic factors and substitute a study of attitudes. M. Pinatel was sufficiently moved to tear up his prepared address (figuratively) and make an impassioned reply in French. This put considerable stress on those members with a rusty knowledge of the language, but consensus of agreement was that M. Pinatel's main points were that the last Congress had clearly accepted the principle that crime and the criminal should be considered as a whole, and that this should on no account be abandoned.

These Colloquium sessions were highly stimulating to those members of the course who have been actively engaged in the field for some years, but to a smaller number of more recent recruits the proceedings appeared a little divorced from reality.

Much credit is due to the sponsors and organisers of the course, and on the last morning the rapporteurs of each group were given the acceptable task of conveying the members' deep appreciation and thanks for all the work put in by those concerned and for the remarkable hospitality shown, which varied from official receptions at Christiansborg Castle to personal hospitality in homes. When it is added that for eleven days the sun shone almost continuously on one of the most beautiful cities in the world in autumn dress it will be appreciated that participation in this course was an experience to be long remembered.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

CRITICAL NOTICE

TIME SPENT AWAITING TRIAL. A Home Office Research Unit Report. By EVELYN GIBSON. With a Foreword by SIR CHARLES C. CUNNINGHAM. [Home Office Studies in the Causes of Delinquency and the Treatment of Offenders, No. 2. H.M.S.O. 1960. 3s.]

THE Home Office Research Unit was set up in 1957 and has already undertaken a wide series of researches, as Mr. Butler's White Paper of February 1959 revealed. This is the report of the results of one such piece of research, which has been carried out by a member of the Unit, Mrs. Evelyn Gibson. It is published as No. 2 of the Home Office Studies in the Causes of Delinquency and the Treatment of Offenders, a series in which, as Sir Charles Cunningham says in his Foreword, the Home Office will in future publish the results of their research as these become available, when they are "of sufficient public interest." No. 1 of the series was of course the study of *Prediction Methods in relation to Borstal Training*, carried out by Dr. Hermann Mannheim and Mr. L. T. Wilkins.

The results of this inquiry into the length of time which elapses pending the trial of an accused person for a criminal offence have been laid before the Interdepartmental Committee on the Business of the Criminal Courts, now sitting under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Streatfeild. The inquiry was no doubt mainly prompted by the needs of that Committee for up-to-date information. The Report first outlines briefly the procedure for bringing persons charged with criminal offences to trial, then it examines the situation in the higher courts with special reference to the length of time spent awaiting trial. There follows a separate study of the position in the magistrates' courts, both with regard to committal proceedings and with regard to summary trials, where the extent to which remands are used, either on bail or in custody, and certain other matters, such as factors affecting bail, are considered. The Report concludes with a study of the effect of the delays awaiting trial on the prison population, in terms of the amount of prison space occupied by such persons. There are useful appendices listing the main categories of indictable, summary and "hybrid" offences, giving details of the basis of the sample for the higher court study, and an analysis of the proportion of different classes of offender pleading guilty at the higher courts.

The basis of the study of the higher courts is a sample of 2,028 cases drawn from the 1956 after-trial calendars for the 165 courts of quarter

sessions and the sixty assize courts outside London, and from the Central Criminal Court at the Old Bailey and the London and Middlesex Sessions. These courts were divided into nine groups (as listed in Appendix B) according to size and nature of the court. The continuous courts, viz., those London courts mentioned above together with the new Crown courts at Liverpool and Manchester, are studied separately, then the assizes are divided into large, medium and small according to the number of cases dealt with, and the quarter sessions are similarly divided. A random sample of persons for trial was selected from each group, using a variable sampling fraction. A study was then made of the time between the date of committal for trial and the first date of the trial, and between the date of conviction and the date of sentence.

For the study of the magistrates' courts, a sample of 100 courts was taken out of the 1,300 in England and Wales, excluding the juvenile courts, devised so as to produce a representative sample of approximately 37 per cent. of persons dealt with in these courts. The selected courts were asked to supply details of all cases in which the accused appeared for the first time during April 1958, and was then or subsequently remanded or committed for trial. The Report remarks that "this was a complicated exercise and it was not easy to classify with precision some of the returns that were received." This may account in part for the difficulty in following the analysis of this second part of the research which the present reviewer encountered, but part of the complexity appears to be in the nature of the subject. The sample here comprised 781 persons committed for trial, of whom 702 had been previously remanded, and 1,153 persons tried summarily and remanded either before or after conviction, including seventy-five who were committed to quarter sessions for sentence.

The general conclusions which emerge from this research appear to the reviewer to be as follows :

- (1) The advantage of the continuous courts over courts sitting infrequently, especially where the numbers to be dealt with are large, is amply demonstrated.
- (2) In general the speed with which offenders are dealt with in the English criminal process is shown beyond doubt.
- (3) The Report does bring to light quite serious delays which occur
 - (a) at large assizes, pending trial;
 - (b) at some quarter sessions, pending sentence.
- (4) The advantages of having resort to the "convenient court" procedure are revealed.
- (5) It is shown that a high proportion of accused persons plead guilty at the higher courts.
- (6) It is revealed that most persons committed for trial in custody are eventually detained under sentence, but that many persons remanded

in custody by the magistrates' courts are not eventually detained by the sentence of the court.

- (7) It is shown that little use is made in the higher courts outside London and Middlesex of the power to remand for further inquiries prior to sentencing offenders. On the other hand, the magistrates' courts appear to use this power quite extensively.
- (8) The total contribution of untried prisoners and prisoners in custody awaiting sentence to the prison population is not very great.
- (9) A more serious discovery is that 25 per cent. of those remanded in custody are not sentenced to any form of detention.

One of the criticisms that can be made of this Report is that it gives the impression of having been written in a vacuum; while this is no doubt antiseptic and therefore very desirable in a Home Office Report on research, it does make for a somewhat colourless report, lacking interpretation. It will be for others to supply this. Taking the first four points listed above, I think we can accept with some satisfaction the speed with which the English criminal system operates. This is of course tempered by the discovery that there are quite serious delays in the large assizes pending trial, and in some of the quarter sessions pending sentence. How many of the latter were due to the practice of postponing sentence for twelve months, which was officially disapproved in *R. v. Wall* (1957) 41 Cr.App.R. 97, one cannot say, but as the sample was drawn from 1956 it is fair to attribute some of the delays in quarter sessions to this practice. The ample demonstration of the advantage of a continuous court over a court which sits intermittently from the point of view of cutting down delays is a point the significance of which cannot, one hopes, escape the notice of the Streatfeild Committee. More frequent availability and use of the "convenient court" procedure might also be helpful in cutting down delays. The Report does not consider delays pending appeal, and it is submitted that these might usefully be studied, for they are quite likely to add another four months' delay to the criminal process. Appeals in capital cases would of course be an important exception here.

With regard to point (5) above, the surprising fact is not that so many plead guilty (two-thirds) but that, outside the Old Bailey, so few persons plead not guilty. It is obvious that our criminal system has come to depend very largely on the plea of guilty being forthcoming from the accused: the system would be seriously hampered if elsewhere in the country as many accused persons pleaded not guilty as at the Central Criminal Court (48 per cent.). It would break down altogether if everyone pleaded not guilty.

The use of remands in custody in the magistrates' courts, (6) above, is more acceptable where the case is committed for trial than where the case is dealt with summarily, or tried summarily and committed to quarter sessions for sentence. Of the persons committed in custody to the higher courts, 78 per cent. are eventually sentenced to some form of detention. Of

the persons remanded only 20 per cent. were eventually convicted by the magistrates and sentenced to detention. Of those remanded in custody but not for the purpose of obtaining reports, 38 per cent. were eventually imprisoned. Of those remanded in custody for reports, 17 per cent. were eventually imprisoned. These findings cannot really be interpreted favourably or unfavourably. But when we look at (7) above, we see that the magistrates' courts make far greater use of their powers of adjourning for a medical or other report than do the higher courts. This may well be a result of the intermittent sittings of the latter, for London and Middlesex Sessions appear to use this power more frequently. It can hardly be suggested that offenders elsewhere are such that these further inquiries are unnecessary. This is another argument in favour of Crown courts.

The total effect of remands in custody pending trial or pending sentence is not very great, but the discovery that of those remanded in custody 25 per cent. are not eventually sentenced to some form of detention is on the face of it a serious discovery. However, even this requires interpretation. It is frequently a benign process which operates to have an offender remanded in custody and then when it comes to sentencing him to give him some sentence other than a sentence of detention. This avoids some of the stigma of a sentence of imprisonment, while providing the offender with what may well be a salutary experience. We should be cautious lest we interpret as wholly bad practices which are capable of operating in such a benign fashion.

Writing in 1931, Professor Pendleton Howard described speed as being one of the salient features of the English criminal process. "Those who administer criminal justice in England proceed upon the theory that speed is the most important essential in the criminal process." He considered this to be one of the outstanding merits of the system, and one of the vital factors in the successful enforcement of the criminal law. He recognised that "the rapidity with which a case is disposed of varies considerably in the different sections of the country . . .," and went on to say that "there are no statistical data covering the subject." The Report on Time Awaiting Trial fills this gap in our knowledge, and although it reveals certain blemishes, it serves largely to confirm these impressions of an acute observer from overseas written nearly thirty years ago. Pendleton Howard thought that flexibility was also one of the great merits of the court system, and the innovation of the Crown courts shows that we have not lost our power to adapt to altered circumstances. It remains to be seen whether the Streatfeild Committee will take the view that more flexibility and innovation are required by the present situation.

J. E. Hall Williams

REVIEWS

THE HIGHFIELDS STORY. By LLOYD McCORKLE, ALBERT ELIAS and F. LOVELL BIXBY. [New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1958. 182 pp. \$3.50.]

YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS AT HIGHFIELDS. By H. ASHLEY WEEKS, with ERNEST W. BURGESS, WALTER RECKLESS, RICHARD L. JENKINS, G. HOWLAND SHAW and WELLMAN J. WARNER. [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1958. 208 pp. \$6.00.]

HIGHFIELDS is a small residential facility set up by the State of New Jersey in 1950 for the treatment of adolescent male delinquents aged sixteen to eighteen. Its ethos is that of treatment through "guided group interaction," *i.e.*, group discussion or group counselling as opposed to group psychotherapy, in a flexible atmosphere. It is designed for no more than twenty boys who live together with the director and two or three domestic staff in a house given to the state by the late Colonel Lindbergh in the pleasant wooded area of the Sourland Mountains a few miles from Princeton. The idea grew out of the successful experiments in group work which McCorkle and Bixby had inaugurated in the Army during the war at Fort Knox, and the Highfields project is part of the general trend towards group counselling in correctional institutions which is gathering momentum in both Britain and the United States.

Highfields bears much resemblance to a probation home; when discharged the boys return to probation officers as opposed to those from the reformatories who return to the care of parole officers. They work a forty-hour week at the nearby State Mental Hospital at Skillman, and have five group sessions after supper each week. They stay for not more than four months and are allowed generous week-end leave as well as telephone calls and uncensored mail. Furthermore, there are no bolts or bars on the premises and only two rules: not to go off the 320-acre estate alone, and not to speak to the female patients at Skillman.

Dr. McCorkle's book is an eminently readable account of Highfields and its philosophy, and paints a vivid picture of the kind of boys who go there and what they experience. It also contains some evaluation of the boy's adjustment both to the institution and to life afterwards. Sceptics, however, may question whether the author of a project is the most objective judge of its success, and it is to the outstanding credit of the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies that New York University was commissioned to carry out an independent evaluation.

The main questions to be asked were: How does Highfields compare with the traditional reformatory in terms of recidivism rates? Do delinquents participating in the short-term programme at Highfields change their expressed attitudes to life? Do their basic personality structures change? Is the

effectiveness of the Highfields programme contingent on the personality of the director, or can his role be assumed by a successor? The answers to these questions are to be found in Dr. Weeks' book, which is a much more specialised work of evaluation as opposed to the largely descriptive account of Dr. McCorkle. There can be little doubt that within the limits imposed by circumstances beyond the investigators' control—which afflict all control group studies—Dr. Weeks has performed his task with skill. In essence, it attempts to compare the performance of Highfields boys with a matched group at the traditional type reformatory of Annandale in terms of recidivism and attitudinal change.

A major difficulty at the outset was that while Highfields boys were selected on the basis of having no prior institutional experience, Annandale took boys both with and without such experience, indeed rather more with than without. To overcome this the Annandale controls had to be of the "Highfields type" on this score. Not everyone will be convinced that the two resulting populations were completely comparable. Dr. Weeks argues on page 76 that "there is little difference in the distributions of background variables for all Highfields and Annandale white boys"; however on page 33 he states that "There is some indication that Highfields boys come from somewhat higher status homes," 21 per cent. of the Highfields boys having a "white-collar" father compared with only 7 per cent. of the Annandale boys. On page 69 he writes that 37 per cent. of the Annandale whites had five or more adverse background variables compared with only 27 per cent. of the Highfields boys, and though he claims that this difference is not statistically significant he nevertheless says "It appears safe to conclude that Highfields white boys have somewhat better backgrounds than Annandale white boys."

Overall figures show that of the 229 who completed treatment at Highfields, 63 per cent. were not reinstitutionalised after a year following release. In contrast, of the 116 Annandale boys only 47 per cent. were not returned to institutions after eight months. The critical point here, though, is that these "successes" were merely boys who were "*in no further difficulty great enough to send them to another custodial facility*" (p. 42). In other words, these boys were not necessarily clear of all trouble. Unless the courts in dealing with further delinquencies pursued a uniform policy—which is improbable—one can assume that further incarceration was dependent upon the subjective decisions of the courts in each case. Return to an institution, then, is not a wholly valid measuring device. If, however, we accept it, and look at Highfields and Annandale boys in terms of ethnic grouping we find that while 64 per cent. of Highfields whites succeed, nearly as many (59 per cent.) of Annandale whites also succeed. On the other hand, while 59 per cent. of Highfields negroes succeed only 33 per cent. of the Annandale negroes do so. In other words, the lower overall recidivism of Highfields boys is

almost entirely due to the much greater success rate of the Highfields negroes. How do the two groups of negroes differ? Highfields negroes are more than twice as well educated (measured by school grade) than their Annandale counterparts but, even allowing for this factor, those at Highfields do better. One suggestion put forward is that, while at Highfields negroes are in a minority, at Annandale they predominate. At Highfields they become integrated in the treatment programme while at Annandale they develop a strong in-group resistance to the influences of their predominantly white custodians.

Some boys are returned from Highfields as unsuitable, or abscond, and at Annandale some are transferred elsewhere; when only those who have completed treatment in both institutions are compared the Highfields overall success rates improve from 63 per cent. to 77 per cent. and the Annandale rates from 47 per cent. to 49 per cent. Separate analysis for negroes shows again that they account for most of the difference, Highfields negroes having a 70 per cent. success rate as against 33 per cent. for Annandale. But while Highfields can dispose of boys with ease, Annandale cannot return boys to court but merely transfers them to a more secure institution. Highfields disposed of forty-one boys, some 18 per cent. of the sample, but Annandale transferred only three out of 116, a negligible proportion. This is a factor of some importance when comparing the "completed treatment" populations, for whereas Highfields obviously disposed of its doubtful runners, Annandale is more likely to have contained them. In any case the different administrative procedures would tend to inhibit the Annandale authorities from shunting their problems elsewhere.

Throughout the analysis, the main point seems to be that while Highfields and Annandale whites seem to do about equally well (including the Highfields rejects) when the background variables related to success are held constant, the Highfields negroes (including the rejects) do very much better than those at Annandale whether they have high or low scores on the background variable scale. And to some extent the objection arising from Highfields' "selection by rejection" procedure is met by the fact that even Highfields whites with low background scores do better than whites with similarly low scores at Annandale. On the other hand, although the predictive device developed shows that background variables discriminate well between subsequent success and failure there are presumably other factors operative in the environment at Highfields which have some bearing on the relatively better outcome of the poorer risks at Highfields compared with those at Annandale.

A series of attitude tests was conducted, the results also working well as a component in prediction, but paradoxically while the success of Highfields whites is much the same regardless of whether their attitudes change from anti-authority to being more accepting, it is the Annandale whites who change *unfavourably* who have the greater chance of success, the same also

being true of both negro groups. It may be, as Weeks suggests, that in the test on admission boys give the "favourable" response they think is expected of them, but those who achieve some confidence (which may be related to success) are able to say what they *really* feel about authority when tested on release. However, only about half the boys changed in their attitudes at all. There is no evidence of any basic personality change in the Highfields boys, white or negro, nor is there any significant difference in Highfields success rates as between the period when Dr. McCorkle was director as against the subsequent period under Dr. Elias.

The remainder of the book contains some pertinent criticisms of the research design by Professor Warner, though written in the tortuous language to which some American sociologists are given, and a chapter by Dr. Jenkins in which he develops his dichotomy of "adaptive" and "maladaptive" delinquency corresponding roughly to the notion of "social" as opposed to "psychiatric" delinquency. Dr. Shaw attempts to identify some of the factors in the success of Highfields, and Professor Reckless contributes a chapter on "The Small Residential Treatment Institution in Perspective" which contains a grossly inaccurate paragraph on the English Borstal system, which has in any case changed a good deal since William Healy (whom Reckless quotes) wrote about it in 1941.

What, then, can be said about Highfields, as portrayed in this evaluation? The present writer is by no means convinced that the Highfields sample was well matched with the Annandale controls, for reasons which have already been discussed. If Highfields did get somewhat better material, then Annandale might be appearing in a less favourable light than it really deserves, and it is worthy of recollection that, even on Weeks' data, white boys do almost as well there as at Highfields. On the other hand Highfields is certainly better for negroes, and this is a factor of great importance because negroes are a very large element in the criminal population of the northern states. (The State Prison at Trenton in 1960 was nearly 60 per cent. negro in its inmate composition.) For this group at least then, Highfields does something important, but it is likely that it is the ratio of negroes to whites which is the critical factor; additional institutions like Highfields for negroes alone would tend to reproduce only the black inmate-white custodian dichotomy of Annandale. Another point to be borne in mind is the difference between short and long term treatment. It could be that if Annandale boys were released at three months instead of a year they might do better; similarly, if Highfields boys stayed a year the Highfields success rates might decline. But what is overwhelmingly in Highfields' favour is its high turnover and hence low cost: \$413 per boy per year compared with \$1,480 for Annandale. Even if Highfields were no better than Annandale—and for negroes it certainly is—it is certainly better value for money!

The criticisms of this review derive from a degree of scepticism in looking

at the analysis but this is not to question the sincerity or the effectiveness of the Highfields treatment on *individuals*. It is not altogether possible to evaluate, by gross sociological devices, an inter-personal social technique which has much in common with casework if only because the experience is unique to each individual. The Weeks study gives us no detailed information on *individuals*, particularly in the post-release period, and it is likely that even among the failures, there were not a few boys whose problems, if not wholly solved, were at least made more bearable and whose lives were made a little happier and less conflict ridden. A weakness in Highfields may be that the families are not brought in, and the experience of at least one psychiatric rehabilitation unit¹ is that their participation in group discussions assists importantly in the clarification of problems and often, though not always, in their resolution.

New proposals are likely to appear in this country, extending the uses of short-term institutional detention for young offenders in the Highfields age group. It would be valuable for penology if one of them were run along the lines of the Highfields experiment; it might then be possible to evaluate the Detention Centre in which the Home Office Advisory Council clearly has so much faith, notwithstanding the fact that they do not feel that their multiplication should wait upon the results of research.²

Terence Morris

ON THE THRESHOLD OF DELINQUENCY. By JOHN BARRON MAYS. Preface by PROFESSOR T. S. SIMEY. [Liverpool: University Press (Social Research Series). 1959. 243 pp. 25s.]

THIS book can be regarded as an extension of Mr. Mays' earlier study of the delinquent attitudes and experiences of eighty adolescent boys in a selected area of Liverpool.³ An aspect of this present study has already been written up in this *Journal*⁴ and readers will find it helpful to read them both together.

The aim of this book is set out by Professor Simey in his preface when he states that the author "has sought to find an answer to the problem whether the misbehaviour of the boys brought up in the substandard neighbourhood arises out of deep and perhaps unconscious psychological disturbances resulting from the influences brought to bear in early childhood, or whether they can be said to be the result of more conscious processes of learning which continue up to and throughout adolescence." In an introductory chapter the author rightly regrets the tendency to neglect the "group work approach in the treatment of young criminals and delinquents," and

¹ The Social Rehabilitation Unit at Belmont, Surrey.

² Report of the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders, *The Treatment of Young Offenders*, Oct. 1959. Para. 17.

³ *Growing up in the City*, Liverpool University Press, 1954.

⁴ "The Delinquent, His Family, and the Social Group," *Brit.J.Delinq.*, 10, No. 1, 1959.

he comments on the current tendency to emphasise the psychiatric factors to the detriment of social pressures. In advocating "a reconciliation of the insights derived from each of these approaches" he is of course asking for a multicausal approach, and his whole thesis demonstrates the need for this. Mr. Mays sets out to demonstrate how the insights derived from psycho-analytically orientated group work may be used within the normal youth club framework. This experimental club, started in 1953, and known as the "Dolphin" was established in order to provide a therapeutic social group for the purpose of preventing and dealing with juvenile delinquency in a specific area in Liverpool. The minimum age of admission was fixed at eight years (the age of criminal responsibility in its broadest sense) and most members left at thirteen to join the senior parent club. Mr. Mays and his colleagues endeavoured to involve the parents as much as possible in this enterprise in an effort to modify or improve parental attitudes and/or relationships. One is left with the slight feeling that Mr. Mays is presenting this approach as something new; intrepid youth workers up and down the country have of course been attempting the same kind of thing for many years.

The workers attached to the Dolphin appear mainly to have adopted an "exhortative" approach to the parents of these boys, relying on the giving of advice and encouragement, rather than attempting casework at any depth that might have helped the parents to understand why they behaved in the way they did. One has the feeling that many caseworkers will take issue with Mr. Mays' implied interpretation of modern casework when he says, for instance, on page 21: "The sort of case work attempted was the type that is *universally* [reviewer's italics] practised by probation officers. Advice was given when it was sought and, indeed, even when it was strongly resented," and on page 9, of child guidance workers, that they "seek to deal not only with the child but with the home situation, *giving advice to the parents* [reviewer's italics] and, where there are disharmonies or conflicts, attempting to reconcile clashing viewpoints." Alas, Mr. Mays makes it all appear so easy!

The introductory chapter contains a useful survey of some of the literature of group work and on the prevention of delinquency and it includes a brief account of the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study. Chapter 2 is devoted to a dynamic description of the club and Chapter 3 gives an excellent account of the boys' personalities and problems. This and the fourth chapter on "Home Life and Family Background" give a comprehensive picture of the parental situation in the homes of the boys concerned. In 63 per cent. of the households there existed "some kind of relationship problem measured in terms of absence or incapacity of one or both parents." Although the picture presented is precisely what one would expect, the study loses none of its force because of this. Here again there is the sorry story of parental indifference, apathy, even neglect, and what your reviewer chooses to describe as "insensitivity" to a child's problems.

The author stresses the fact that our current preoccupation with the mother-child relationship has tended to dim our perception of the important roles fathers play in these family situations, and indeed Mr. Mays' point is given weight by Andry's recent studies.³ A fifth chapter deals with various aspects of club membership. A third of the members were introduced by probation officers. In an analysis of membership between 1953 and 1956 nearly half the lapsed members had left "on account of lack of parental control and co-operation." Chapter 6 is devoted to a study of the subcultural background, in which the author defines a sub-sub-culture wherein may be found these families with the more intractable problems.

The final chapter is devoted to an assessment of results. The author states that in an experiment of this kind there are so many intangible factors involved that they cannot in the present state of our knowledge and techniques be subjected to more stringent analysis, so that only an overall assessment can be given. It does appear, however, that "the degree of success measured in terms of sustained (club) membership over a reasonable period was 44 per cent.," and, "there is good reason to believe that some of the delinquents became less delinquent during their club career." In addition, "the club seemed to be most successful with those boys whose delinquency was in its early stages and there appeared to be a relationship between lack of parental interest . . . and unsuccessful club membership." These facts give support to the author's view that "the best hope of control in the field of delinquency . . . lies in diagnosis and treatment at the earliest possible moment."

Mr. Mays writes in an engaging and perceptive manner but one is left with the feeling that the book could have benefited from a little pruning in various places. Nevertheless, his painstaking and humanitarian experiment will add considerable weight to the material that has already been published on the prevention of delinquency, and his results will render us less likely to overlook the *early* school years because of our current preoccupation with the over-fifteens.

Herschel Prins

A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF GROUP COUNSELLING IN THE PRISONS OF CALIFORNIA. By NORMAN FENTON. [Sacramento: State of California Department of Corrections. 1957. 52 pp. Mimeographed. No price.]

AN INTRODUCTION TO GROUP COUNSELLING IN STATE CORRECTIONAL SERVICE. [Sacramento: State of California Department of Corrections. 1957. 204 pp. No price.]

THE Federal system apart, the state of California can reasonably claim to be at least a generation ahead of any other state in the development of modern

³ R. G. Andry: "Faulty Paternal and Maternal Relationships, etc.," *Brit.J.Delinq.*, 8, No. 1, 1957. R. G. Andry, *Delinquency and Parental Pathology*. Methuen, 1960.

penological techniques. It is all the more remarkable because these developments have occurred largely within the last twenty years, during which the population of the state has expanded rapidly and, with it, crime. Group therapy represents a determined attempt to maximise all scarce resources in an effort to transform the prisons of California from mere places of containment into therapeutic communities in which men are prepared to re-enter the world of free men as useful citizens.

Group therapy began at San Quentin in 1944 as an offshoot of psycho-therapeutic sessions there, and was later introduced into the Reception-Guidance Centres. Lack of clinical staff, and inability to obtain them, was a major stimulus to the use of all types of prison personnel for the work. This has proved to be a major strength. The architect of the whole programme, Dr. Norman Fenton, wrote two texts, one for inmates, *What will be Your Life?*, later revised as *What's Ahead for You?*, and one for the staff themselves.

After experiments at Folsom, which were preceded by a survey of reactions to the idea by staff and inmates, the work was developed elsewhere with great enthusiasm on the part of both sides, with the result that in some institutions almost 100 per cent. of the inmates were brought into the scheme.

Dr. Fenton's text for the staff is a model of its kind. The clarity of its exposition of what are complicated issues in the psychodynamics of group relations is admirable. Above all, it is down to earth in its approach, dealing realistically with fears by staff that counselling may upset the régime of the prison with disastrous results. Sceptics, and even the most contemptuous critics of modern casework, would do well to look at it. And if group counselling is to be developed in British prisons to any useful extent we shall need a Fenton to produce a text such as this.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and one may ask what effect counselling has had on the reconviction rates of parolees in California. At the moment there is no information available. But one of the aims of the technique is to improve the climate of the institution in a positive way, and there is convincing evidence that the introduction of counselling has had a most beneficial effect, particularly in improving the *positive* relations between staff and inmates. It is not enough to provide excellent vocational training if nothing is done to assist men to live more reasonably with their fellows. Nor is it enough merely to ameliorate the physical conditions of detention in the hope that in some vague way the relaxation of tensions between captor and captive will have some beneficial effect.

If Dr. Fenton's text is to be criticised it is perhaps because he accepts rather too readily the notion that crime is a function of emotional and psychosocial maladjustment. It is true that it is rare to find an offender who has come from a home free from conflict or some other unhappy condition, or one who does not have considerable difficulties in relationships in the

outside world. But it is worth bearing in mind that no study in the psychology of crime has yet produced a completely viable explanation of the phenomenon. One might also take exception to his analogy between the prison and the hospital. However far the prison may go in utilising therapeutic techniques, the deprivation of liberty will always remain a negative social sanction. Crime, unlike sickness, is a moral issue as well as a social problem.

Whatever our criticisms may be, it remains that the development of group counselling is likely to be the most important area of penological experiment during the next decade. It is, however, a technique which needs to be used with planning and care, and it is to be hoped that the Prison Commissioners will utilise the experience of the California Department of Corrections to the full before expanding it here.

Terence Morris

ALEXANDER MACONOCHIE OF NORFOLK ISLAND. By JOHN VINCENT BARRY.
[Melbourne: Oxford University Press. 1958. xii + 277 pp. 50s.
Australian.]

THE paths of penal reform were blazed by explorers who shared, along with their visions of more humane and constructive ways of handling offenders, a noble and inspiring dedication to a Cause. In these times when it is fashionable to psychologise away the deeds of men, usually with some tiresome Freudian formula, it is refreshing to read a biography whose author has an unblushing admiration for his subject, and who interprets his actions as springing from an almost quixotic purity of character. Mr. Justice Barry, a judge of the Supreme Court of Victoria and Chairman of the Department of Criminology in the University of Melbourne, set himself the tasks of bringing to light a relatively obscure but historically important correctional pioneer, and of rectifying unfair assessments of his career and of his influence as a penal administrator and reformer. Through a painstaking analysis of state papers, private letters, contemporaneous accounts, and Maconochie's own extensive writings, Barry examines the public phases of Maconochie's life, making a point-by-point refutation of his past and present critics.

Born in Edinburgh in 1787, Alexander Maconochie joined the Royal Navy at the age of fifteen against the wishes of his guardian, Allan Maconochie, Lord Meadowbank, who had planned for him a legal career. After twelve years of active service, during which he participated in the assaults on Washington and New Orleans, he was paid off with the rank of commander and henceforth bore the customary title of captain. For the next sixteen years he farmed with indifferent success, wrote on divers topics, became secretary of the Geographical Society of London, and lectured on geography for three years in University College, London. In 1837 Maconochie left

England for Van Diemen's Land where he served for three years as private secretary to the new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Franklin, his long-time friend and fellow naval officer. Maconochie, who emerges under Barry's pen as an intransigent, sensitive, humane individualist, was much too honest and ingenuous to survive in the factional struggles within Franklin's administration. These characteristics, plus a singular capacity for alienating politicians, including his employer, led to his dismissal.

Some time prior to this, Maconochie had studied, at the request of the English Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, the penal colony system. Shocked and horrified by the miserable lot of the transportees, he had proceeded to develop a theoretical scheme for rehabilitating offenders based on the radical premises that the presumed deterrent effect of deliberately degrading prisoners was illusory, serving only to harm them and society, and that the initial, or imprisonment, phase of a transportee's sentence should entail positive training for his eventual return to society. Shortly after he and Franklin parted, he succeeded in obtaining an appointment as governor of the penal colony on tiny Norfolk Island, 900 miles east of the mainland. There, with hesitant approval of his superiors, he put his ideas to the test. The difficulties he encountered were many: high mortality rates from dysentery, the unfortunate presence of doubly-condemned prisoners (necessitating separate custody in an already overcrowded facility), crop failures, and mainland scepticism. If his scheme operated much less perfectly than he had hoped, he did, at least, mitigate conditions for the unhappy wretches left him by his predecessor. To the continuing amusement of the Sydney newspapers and the growing dismay of Australian penal colony officialdom, he built two churches, adopted graded uniforms, formed a band and a choir, established an adult school, reduced corporal punishment to a minimum and, most importantly, introduced an indefinite sentence procedure, implemented by a so-called Mark System. His innovations were short-lived, however: the glimmer of light he brought to the shameful transportation system was promptly extinguished after four brief years by his successor, Captain Joseph Child, and officialdom breathed easily once again. For Maconochie was relieved of his assignment, ostensibly because the Colonial Office was convinced his experiment failed, but actually, Barry argues, because the Office needed a sacrificial goat for economy-minded Lords of the Treasury.

In 1844 he returned with his wife and six children to England, where his fortunes continued to wane. Two years as head of the Birmingham Borough Prison ended in humiliating dismissal, partly because his authority was undermined by a treacherous assistant, partly because of Maconochie's inept dealings with borough officials. He died in poverty in 1860.

As an administrator, Maconochie failed to win the confidence of the government, the public or the Press, but as an inspired visionary who altered the course of penological history he deserves rank with Elizabeth Fry and John

Howard. His thirty-three pamphlets and memoria, published between 1838 and 1859, circulated widely among nineteenth-century penologists and were profoundly influential in England and Ireland and particularly in the U.S.A., where many of his suggestions were directly incorporated in the American reformatory scheme. The wisdom and prescience of his thinking are further evidenced by the fact that he anticipated many features of today's open institutions.

Barry concludes his book with an admirably cogent and convincing essay on Alexander Maconochie's rightful status as one of history's most important penological leaders.

Ralph W. England Jr.

JOHN HOWARD, PRISON REFORMER. By D. L. HOWARD. [London: Christopher Johnson. 1958. 186 pp. 18s.]

JOHN HOWARD was a man of paradoxes. He achieved fame as a prison reformer, but he was in fact extremely ineffective in his attempts to bring about reforms, and the only occasion on which he was in a commanding position to do something effective, when he was one of the three supervisors of the proposed new penitentiaries under the 1779 Act, he tamely resigned as soon as there were disagreements with one of the other supervisors. Florence Nightingale accomplished vastly more in thirty years spent in bed than Howard did in nearly the same period visiting prisons. As a landowner Howard was kindly and progressive, though one must not make too much of this since there were many such in the eighteenth century. His personal relationships were, however, unsatisfactory, to say the least of it. The story of his treatment of his son is well known, and must have contributed considerably to the final mental breakdown of that unfortunate young man. His marriage to a woman very much older than himself, his autocratic attitude to his second wife, and his apparent inability to hold on to any but a very small circle of friends, all lead one to suspect that he was by no means an easy man to get on with.

Indeed, it is difficult to avoid the view that his continued visiting of prisons, and later of lazarettos, was compulsive rather than humanitarian. Even when he was told of his son's insanity he had to visit several prisons on the way home, and was off again on another tour in a few weeks after arriving. It all sounds rather like self-punishment: the constant and repeated entry into fever-ridden gaols, the forced marches from place to place, immuring himself in a lazaretto to see if he could catch the plague (he only got typhus, and apparently not seriously); one really wonders why he did it.

However, he did, and the result was a monumental collection of facts about the prisons of his day. Yet his own deficiencies contributed to the extraordinary lack of lasting effect his labours had upon the gaols of his

own country. It is, perhaps, not surprising that he himself founded no reforming society, since he was only interested in travelling, visiting and recording; but it is very strange in an era in which societies for all sorts of purposes were by no means uncommon that no one else founded a reforming society based upon Howard's work, although several Acts were based upon it. Indeed, there appears to have been no reforming society of any account until 1816, when the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, originally founded in 1808, was reconstituted. The system of local and central government was no easier to attack then than in the 1770s and 1780s. I cannot think of an answer to this conundrum, unless it be the intervention of the Napoleonic wars, and the author of this study, not surprisingly, does not provide one either.

Mr. Howard has written a very readable brief account of his illustrious namesake, underlining with some skill the paradoxes I have mentioned. Howard's activities are not easy to record since they were repetitious, and it would not be difficult to make a biography as boring as his voluminous reports on the gaols and lazarettos. The book concentrates on Howard himself, and there is little attempt to analyse or comment upon his findings in any detail. But within its limits it is always interesting, and serves as an excellent introduction to one of the most curious of social investigators.

Gordon Rose

CASUALTIES OF THE WELFARE STATE. By AUDREY HARVEY. [Fabian Tract 321, February 1960.]

FOR the last five years Mrs. Harvey has been working in a Citizens' Advice Bureau in the East End of London. In this pamphlet she records some of her impressions and conclusions drawn from close and continuing contact with many thousands of people confronted with personal and family problems of one kind and another. She makes no claim to have "pursued research"; she has no political axes to grind. The result is a sincere and moving statement displaying a skill in observation and an understanding of real people in real situations which many academic students of society might well envy.

Mrs. Harvey is not concerned with social pathology—with the delinquent, the deviant or the so-called "problem family." She writes about ordinary working-class people; about many who have done or are still doing the dirtiest work of the community. She shows how precarious their lives are; how thin the line is between stability and disintegration. In most cases the root cause is poverty. This is revealed when misfortune occurs, whether it comes in the form of illness, injury, lack of housing, interruption of earnings or in many other ways. The increasingly complex nature of modern society, assuming and demanding intellectual brightness, literate skills and a variety of socio-technical know-how, makes more manifest the poverty of resources, financial,

social and educational, which these families exhibit. Lacking such resources they tend to benefit least from the social services. Perversely, they are often handicapped rather than helped by the administrators and dispensers of "welfare"; pushed around, arbitrarily manipulated, made to feel, as Mrs. Harvey points out, like second-class citizens.

The difference between the textbook (or legislative) view of many of our social institutions, and reality as experienced by such families, is sharply depicted in Mrs. Harvey's case studies. We begin to see how much harm has been done in recent years by the uncritical acceptance of "Welfare State" ideology. It has, to mention only one aspect, contributed to a more punishing social attitude to those in misfortune. If people are still in need in a benevolent "Welfare State," then they must somehow and most seriously be at fault themselves. So runs the argument. From this angle alone criminologists will find Mrs. Harvey's realism helpful in their thinking about contemporary problems of social behaviour and law-making opinion.

Richard M. Titmuss

ISSUES IN AMERICAN SOCIAL WORK. Edited by ALFRED J. KAHN. [New York: Columbia University Press; Oxford University Press. 1959. 340 pp. 40s.]

THIS is a collection of papers, under the editorship of Dr. Alfred J. Kahn, surveying the current scene in American social work. Almost every aspect is touched upon by the eleven contributors and there are chapters dealing with The Function of Social Work in the Modern World, Group Work and the Social Scene, The Generic-Specific Concept in Social Work Education and Practice, and an interesting chapter entitled A Scientific Basis for Helping. Unfortunately, the style in parts of the book is very verbose and makes for difficult reading and one has the feeling that some severe pruning would have improved the book considerably. To quote but one example from Dr. Kahn's chapter on The Function of Social Work (p. 5): "... While efforts to conceptualise the field of social welfare and the institution of social work thus moved toward a broader view, social work practitioners and scholars sought a unifying "core" which would establish conceptually the validity of what was becoming a widely acknowledged reality, i.e., the substantial overlap in social work practice of method, skill and value systems between case work, group work, and community organisation. . . ." One wonders what Lady Wootton and her followers would have made of this!

Most of this book can only be assessed in relation to the American scene, and for this reason workers in the delinquency field will find it of rather limited value. Despite this, however, it does provide a fairly useful commentary on some of the problems facing our American colleagues.

Herschel Prins

THEY STEAL FOR LOVE. By ANTHONY WEAVER. [London: Max Parrish. 1959. 132 pp. 12s. 6d.]

THIS is an account by its warden of a small home for "pre-delinquent" children of both sexes, which was in effect (though not in intention) a probation hostel, and which unfortunately only lasted four years. The author says that "Lammas" (as he calls the home) had "On the one hand affinities with David Wills's 'Barns Experiment,' and on the other with Hilda Lewis's 'Deprived Children,'" and that just about sums it up. There is an account of the day-to-day life of the place; the kind of child and the kind of adult who lived there, and the relationship between them; and a great deal of space is devoted to case-histories, including follow-up.

It might have been a more impressive book, one feels, if there had been a clear and bold statement of the rationale behind the methods employed, though one can in fact gather much of this as one reads about the methods. These included a careful study, with psychiatric help, of every child, and an attempt to meet individual needs in a free environment (though not so free as to exacerbate any existing feelings of insecurity) with the support of sympathetic, understanding and loving adults. We could do with more places with the same approach.

The last short chapter, "Basic Needs," gives something of Mr. Weaver's general philosophy and advances some interesting ideas which there is no room to discuss here.

It is difficult to see why the identity of the home had to be masked under the pseudonym "Lammas." Those of us who enjoy the pleasure of Mr. Weaver's acquaintance know very well what he is talking about; and to those who do not enjoy that pleasure (and I hope many of them will read this book) the real name would have meant no more than the pseudonym.

W. D. Wills

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